THE RENEWAL OF EPIC

MNEMOSYNE

BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA BATAVA

COLLEGERUNT

J.M. BREMER · L.F. JANSSEN · H. PINKSTER

H.W. PLEKET · C.J. RUIJGH · P.H. SCHRIJVERS

BIBLIOTHECAE FASCICULOS EDENDOS CURAVIT

C.J. RUIJGH, KLASSIEK SEMINARIUM, OUDE TURFMARKT 129, AMSTERDAM

SUPPLEMENTUM CENTESIMUM QUINQUAGESIMUM SECUNDUM

VIRGINIA KNIGHT

THE RENEWAL OF EPIC

THE RENEWAL OF EPIC

RESPONSES TO HOMER IN THE ARGONAUTICA OF APOLLONIUS

BY

VIRGINIA KNIGHT

TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS · 1683 ·

E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN · NEW YORK · KÖLN
1995

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Knight, V. H. (Virginia H.)
The renewal of epic : responses to Homer in the Argonautica of Apollonius / by Virginia Knight.
p. cm. — (Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum ; 152)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 9004103864 (alk. paper)
1. Apollonius, Rhodius. Argonautica. 2. Epic poetry, Greek--History and Criticism. 3. Argonauts (Greek mythology) in literature. 4. Jason (Greek mythology) in literature. 5. Medea (Greek mythology) in literature. 6. Homer—Influence. I. Title. II. Series.
PA3872.Z4K57 1995
883'.01—dc20 95-34550
CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

[Mnemosyne / Supplementum]
Mnemosyne : bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum. – Leiden ; New York ; Köln : Brill.
Früher Schriftenreihe
Reihe Supplementum zu: Mnemosyne
152. Knight, Virginia H.: The renewal of epic. – 1995
Knight, Virginia H.:
The renewal of epic : responses to Homer in the Argonautica of Apollonius / by Virginia Knight. – Leiden ; New York ; Köln : Brill, 1995
(Mnemosyne : Supplementum ; 152)
ISBN 90-04-10386-4

ISSN 0169-8958
ISBN 90 04 10386 4

© Copyright 1995 by E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by E.J. Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

Translations from the *Iliad* are mostly from the translation by Martin Hammond, from the *Odyssey* from that by Walter Shewring and from the *Argonautica* from that by Richard Hunter. In some cases I have adapted these or substituted my own translation where this was necessary to bring out a particular point in the Greek.

CONTENTS

Preface ix

I Introduction 1
a) The Homeric World 10
b) Lexical Similarity 12
c) The Simile 17
d) Relationships between Scenes 21
e) Relationships between Characters 26
f) 'Homeric Time' and Focalisation 27
A Test Case: The Symplegades 41
II The Homeric 'Recurrent Scene' 49
1. The Sacrifice: 1.402–49 49
2. The Boxing Match (2.1–97) 62
a) *Iliad* 23 63
b) *Odyssey* 18 66
3. Shipwrecks and Storms at Sea: 2.1097–1121 73
III Battle Scenes 82
a) Cyzicus 84
b) The Bebryces: 2.98–136 93
c) Jason's *Aristeia* in Book 3 99
d) Apsyrtus and the Colchians 114
e) Frustrated Battles 114
IV The Argonauts and the Wanderings of Odysseus 122
1. Introduction 122
2. The Cicones and the Colchians 124
3. The Lotus-eaters and Libya 125
4. The Cyclops 127
a) The Hylas Episode 128
b) Amycus 131
c) Colchis 133
d) Talos 139
e) Conclusion 140
5. Aeolus 144
6. The Laestrygonians and Cyzicus 147

7. The 'Odyssean' Adventures of Book 4 152
8. Circe 160
   a) Lemnos 162
   b) Phineus 169
   c) Book 3: Medea and Aeetes 176
   d) Circe in Book 4 184
9. The Sirens 200
10. Scylla and Charybdis 207
11. The Wandering Rocks 210
12. The Cattle of the Sun 216
13. Calypso 220
14. The Phaeacians 223
   a) Book 3 224
   b) The Argonauts' Visit to the Phaeacians 244

V The Gods of the *Argonautica* 267
Modes of Action 280
Awareness of the Gods 284
Scenes of Divine Intervention 291
   a) Athena at the Symplegades 291
   b) The Opening of Book 3 291
   c) Hera, Iris and Thetis: 4.753–865 297

Bibliography 306
Glossary of Greek Words 318
General Index 319
Index of Passages Discussed 327
Index of Greek Words 334

PREFACE

This work is a revised and rewritten version of most of my Cambridge dissertation of 1990 (*Πρόσθεν ἔτι κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί: Responses to Homer in the Argonautica of Apollonius*). After setting it aside, I returned to the *Argonautica* to find that, like the Earthborn rising from the plain of Colchis, a new crop of studies and interpretations of the poem had appeared in my absence and was still continuing to appear. A number of my ideas have been developed or revised in the light of these and other relevant works, but it has not been possible to take account of all recent scholarship in this area. (I regret, for example, that Malcolm Campbell's commentary on *Argonautica* 3 was not available to me in time to be useful).

Firstly I have been helped beyond measure by my former supervisor, Richard Hunter of Pembroke College, Cambridge, whose guidance and advice has kept my work on course and who has always been willing to supply me with possible lines of enquiry and keep me up to date with bibliography. I have profited from the comments of my Ph.D. examiners, Neil Hopkinson and Frederick Williams, and from those of Brill's reader. Francis Vian and James J. Clauss read a draft of the entire work and Damien Nelis a draft of the first two chapters, and for their criticisms and advice I am also grateful. Philip Hall painstakingly checked my final version for errors. I wish to express my appreciation here for the electronic mailing list for Classicists run by Linda Wright, as a medium for making contacts and exchanging references and ideas, and in my case a lifeline to the world of professional Classical studies.

I would also like to acknowledge in particular the help of two institutions: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where I researched the original dissertation in pleasant surroundings, and whose generous award from the Donaldson Fund supported me while I completed it, and the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, without whose extensive holdings in Classics it would have been impossible to revise it.

I owe the greatest debt to Gregory, who convinced me that it was both possible and worthwhile to bring my work to its present form, even though it meant that there would be two years when he

would have competed with Apollonius for my attention. His encouragement has supported me when the task of revision has seemed insurmountable, and it is to him that this work is dedicated.

Virginia Knight
Manchester, August 1995

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The *Argonautica* has now emerged from a long period of comparative neglect to be considered in its own right, rather than merely as a stepping stone between Homer and Virgil. It may seem surprising, then, that I shall throughout this work measure the *Argonautica* against the Homeric epics, both in verbal detail and in more general themes. This approach is not intended to be opposed to those which study the poem without reference to its models; rather, it will be used to explore one particular aspect of Apollonius' poetic technique to show how it reinforces the others.

Until recently, progress in criticism of the *Argonautica* was hindered by bias and prejudice which can be traced back to the middle of the nineteenth century; one example of this is the disproportionate amount of attention given to Book 3 which prevented for a long time appreciation of the poem as a whole. This imbalance can be traced back to Sainte-Beuve's influential essay, as can the designation of the *Argonautica* as a 'romantic epic', which has its source in Sainte-Beuve's analysis of the poem in the terms of the literature of his own day.[1] Later critics went further, to the extent of treating the *Argonautica* as a prototype of the romantic Greek novel rather than as an epic.[2] Critics who were captivated by the emotional world of the poem played down its Homeric roots, preferring to stress its novelty. When Apollonius' use of the Homeric epics was considered at all, the approach tended to be 'philological', treating the *Argonautica* as a quarry for parallels to earlier authors in the same way as it was evidence for obscure mythology and unusual customs.

There also arose further misconceptions, both about Alexandrian literature in general and about Apollonius' relationship to Callimachus,

---

[1] C. A. Ste-Beuve, "De la Médée d'Apollonius," in *Portraits contemporains* v. 5 (Paris 1889) 359–406 (= *Revue des deux mondes* n.s. 11 (1845), 873–99).

[2] For various views of the *Argonautica* as a romance, cf. M. M. Gillies, *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius Book III* (Cambridge: 1928) xli–xliii, E. M. W. Tillyard, *The English Epic and its Background* (London: 1968) 61, A. Heiserman, *The Novel before the Novel* (Chicago: 1977) ch. 2, C. R. Beye, *Epic and Romance in the Argonautica of Apollonius* (Carbondale: 1982) 71–72.

which coloured critical approaches to the *Argonautica*. More recently the nature of the Alexandrian movement has been reconsidered and the part played by 'creative imitation' in Alexandrian poetics has been recognised and appreciated, instead of being seen as symptomatic of decadence.[3] In the light of this reappraisal, Apollonius' relationship to Homer appears in a new light; allusions to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are not simply a necessary ingredient of epic, or evidence of lack of originality, but are as functional a device as the simile.

One reason why Apollonius' creativity in using Homer was for a long time unrecognised was that his reliance on his predecessor was taken for granted, since echoes of Homer pervade all later Greek literature, especially epic. The influence of Homer is the strongest example of the universal ancient practice of the imitation of models in earlier literature. Indeed, a full appreciation of most literature of antiquity, especially poetry, depends on the reader's recognising the reworking of earlier texts.[4]

In confining myself to Apollonius' use of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, I have largely disregarded the influence of other poems on the *Argonautica* and in particular the similarities to tragedy, which have not yet been systematically explored.[5] Archaic hexameter poetry other than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (represented for us by Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns*) also influences the phraseology and subject matter of many passages, and the lost epics of the Trojan and Theban cycles must have affected others to an unknown extent. However, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* occupied such a privileged position in Greek education, thought and criticism from an early stage,[6] a position which is reflected in their

---

[3] Cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, "A Hellenistic Miscellany," *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 3 ser. 2 (1984), 63–65.

[4] Cf. D. A. Russell, "De imitatione" in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, ed. D. West, T. Woodman (Cambridge: 1979) 1 'imitation... [was]... an essential element in all literary composition'.

[5] For example in the similarity of Jason and Medea to their portrayal in Euripides' *Medea*, or in the parallels between Cyzicus and Protesilaus, Jason and Orestes.

[6] Aristotle recognised just the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (and *Margites*) as Homeric (cf. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: 1968) 73–74, N. J. Richardson in *Homer's Ancient Readers* ed. R. Lamberton, J. J. Keaney (Princeton: 1992) 37–38. On the importance of Homer in education, cf. H. I. Marrou trans. G. Lamb, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London: 1956) 162–63, M. M. Kumpf, *The Homeric Hapax Legomena and Their Literary Use by Later Authors, Especially Euripides and Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Ohio: 1974) 72–92, 110–12. Homer is the commonest author in papyri: cf. C. H. Roberts, "Literature and Society in the Papyri," *MH* 10 (1953), 267–68, Pack², 552–1156.

influence on later literature, and it is therefore justifiable to consider them separately.

By 'Homer' in what follows I mean the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as transmitted to us, or the authors of those poems, and do not wish to imply that both epics, or the whole of either of them, are necessarily the work of one poet; in Apollonius' time it was generally accepted that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were by the same person.[7] Apollonius' text, which predated Aristarchus, would have differed from ours in details;[8] in some cases the differences are documented, but where there is no evidence to suggest otherwise, we have to assume that Apollonius' text is the same as that transmitted to us.

The use of allusion as a major poetic device, and especially allusion to Homer, is characteristic of Hellenistic poets, but it did not originate with them.[9] The roots of this technique may be seen even in the Homeric poems themselves, where references to other myths and legends are introduced so that they may be compared to the main story by the audience.[10] The *Odyssey* may also allude to the *Iliad* or to the traditions behind it.[11]

The reverence in which Homer was held did not make poets afraid to retell incidents from his poetry, but only the *Rhesus* attributed to Euripides survives from the numerous tragedies which dramatised incidents from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[12] One play dealing with Homeric

---

[7] Cf. Pfeiffer (1968), 117.

[8] On the text of Homer used by Apollonius, cf. S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (Köln: 1967). Apollonius discussed Zenodotus' text in a monograph (cf. Pfeiffer (1968), 146–48). L. E. Rossi, "La fine alessandrina dell'*Odissea* e lo ζῆλος Ὁμηρικός di Apollonio Rodio," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 96 (1968), 151–63, and others believe that Apollonius denied the authenticity of the end of the *Odyssey*; this is, however, an opinion about the text of Homer, not a reflection of the state of the text in his time.

[9] On the history of allusion in Greek literature, cf. N. Hopkinson, ed. *A Hellenistic Anthology* (Cambridge: 1988) 8–9.

[10] For example, the story of Meleager (Il. 9.529–99); cf. G. Pasquali, "Arte allusiva," in *Pagine stravaganti* v. 2 (Florence: 1968) 82. L. M. Slatkin, *The Power of Thetis: Allusion and Interpretation in the Iliad* (Berkeley: 1991), esp. chapter 4, suggests that there are allusions in the *Iliad* to Thetis' rôle in other myths. I assume that the Homeric epics were originally performed, not read, in contrast to the *Argonautica*, whose density of expression is more suited to reading; though the whole epic or part of it may have been recited publicly, as is suggested by the *Lives* of Apollonius (cf. E. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (2nd. ed., Leipzig: 1914) 327–29, n. 1).

[11] Cf. P. Pucci, *Odysseus Polutropos: Intertextual Readings in the Odyssey and the Iliad* (Ithaca: 1987), K. Usener, *Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis der Odyssee zur Ilias* (Tübingen: 1990).

[12] Aeschylus wrote an *Achilleis* trilogy and *Odyssey* tetralogy (H. J. Mette, *Der verlorene*

events has survived, Euripides' satyr play *Cyclops*, which derives from *Odyssey* 9; Philoxenus' dithyramb *Cyclops* retold the same events.[13] However, Homer's influence was far from confined to this direct borrowing of material. In tragedy, works such as Sophocles' *Ajax* both echo particular passages and explore heroic morality in Homer and alternatives to it.[14] Elsewhere, lyric poets deftly exploit their audience's knowledge of the material, phraseology and values of heroic poetry;[15] even prose writers do not escape the influence of epic.[16] It is thus misleading to regard creative allusion to Homer as a Hellenistic innovation.

Nevertheless, interest in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* appears to have become particularly intense in the Hellenistic period. The texts themselves were subjected to rigorous critical attention, Homer's primacy in all fields of knowledge was expressed in a religious cult in which he was heroised,[17] and his influence continued to pervade every branch of literature, including that of the Alexandrian movement. In *Idylls* 6 and 11 Theocritus imagines the early life of the Cyclops Polyphemus (who is also an important Homeric character for the *Argonautica*).[18] Callimachus' *Hecale* also exploited resemblances of certain situations to *Odyssey* 14, and numerous echoes of Homeric situations and phrase-

---

Aischylos (Berlin: 1963) 112–21, 127–29). Sophocles wrote *Nausicaa/Plyntriae*, *Niptra*, and possibly *Phaeaces*, *Phryges* and *Priam* (D. F. Sutton, *The Lost Sophocles* (Lanham: 1984) 84–85, 88–90, 102, 109–10, 115).

[13] On this play, cf. A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford: 1962) 45–48.

[14] Cf. B. M. W. Knox, "The *Ajax* of Sophocles," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 65 (1961), 20–23, R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Sophocles: an Interpretation* (Cambridge: 1980) 15–19, S. Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge: 1986) ch. 6, R. Garner, *From Homer to Tragedy: the Art of Allusion in Greek Poetry* (London: 1990).

[15] Cf. A. E. Harvey, "Homeric Epithets and Greek Lyric Poetry," *CQ* n.s. 27 (1957), 206–23, L. Rissman, *Love as War: Homeric Allusion in the Poetry of Sappho* (Hain: 1983), R. L. Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric: Three Preliminary Studies* (Toronto: 1987) ch. 1, Garner (1990), ch. 1; G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer: the Lyric Possession of an Epic Past* (Baltimore: 1990) portrays the relationship of lyric and epic in a more complex way.

[16] Cf. M. L. Lang, *Herodotean Narrative and Discourse* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1984) ch. 3, J. L. Moles, "Truth and Untruth in Herodotus and Thucydides," in *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, eds. C. Gill and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter: 1993) 92–98.

[17] Cf. C. O. Brink, "Ennius and the Hellenistic Worship of Homer," *AJP* 93 (1972), 547–67, P. R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: 1986), 22–23, P. Parsons in *Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*, eds. A. Bulloch and others (Berkeley: 1993) 161.

[18] On *Idyll* 22 and Homer, cf. G. O. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford: 1988) 163–67; on Theocritus and Homer generally cf. A. Kurz, *Le Corpus Theocriteum et Homère: un problème d'authenticité (Idylle 25)* (Berne: 1982).

ology may be found in his *Hymns*.[19] These allusions, like those in Apollonius, enhance the narrative and are used for emotional effect. The language of Homer also formed the basis of the poetic diction of Callimachus and Theocritus, though they are more sparing with Homeric phraseology than Apollonius. We cannot draw a line between Apollonius' practice in this area and that of the other Alexandrian poets, except insofar as epic opens up greater possibilities for allusion to its Homeric predecessors in the same genre.

Both heredity and environment favoured Apollonius' extensive use of Homeric models in his epic. The hereditary element can be found in the history of allusion given above, and in Apollonius' own choice of the epic form. On the other hand, the environment at Alexandria, with several poets apparently in close contact with one another, and the presence of the Library in which both Callimachus and Apollonius worked, was a natural one for the production of works in which references to other texts made an important contribution to the poetic effect. It is of course possible to read and enjoy the *Argonautica* without noticing the allusions to Homer. However, this is not to read it as an ancient reader would have done, since Homer was second nature to educated Greeks and the technique of allusion was so fundamental to classical literature that the reader would automatically be sensitive to it.

The relationship of Alexandrian poets to Homer can be summarised as follows; they acknowledge his supremacy, do not try to usurp his unique position in Greek literature but are influenced by him and exploit the reader's knowledge of him, even when writing in genres which are apparently very different from epic. The result is neither slavish imitation nor complete independence. Not surprisingly, the Alexandrian poets responded to Homer in different ways, according to the genres they used or developed, and their own poetic interests.

---

[19] On the *Hecale* and *Odyssey* 14, cf. A. S. Hollis, ed., *Callimachus: Hecale* (Oxford: 1990) 343. Cf. K. Kuiper, *Studia Callimachea* v. 1 (Leiden: 1896), E. Cahen, *Callimaque et son œuvre poétique* (Paris: 1929) 484–87, 519–23 (on the 'presque homérique' nature of much of Callimachus' language), H. Herter, "Kallimachos und Homer: Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation des Hymnos auf Artemis," in *Xenia Bonnensia* (Bonn: 1929) 50–105, F. Williams, ed., *Callimachus' Hymn to Apollo: a Commentary* (Oxford: 1978) 4–5, A. W. Bulloch, "Callimachus' Erysichthon, Homer, and Apollonius Rhodius," *AJP* 98 (1977), 102–12 and, more cautiously, A. W. Bulloch, ed., *Callimachus: the Fifth Hymn* (Cambridge: 1985) 28–30. Like Apollonius, Callimachus keeps a respectful distance from his models; cf. J. K. Newman, "Callimachus and the Epic," in *Serta Turyniana* (Urbana: 1974) 349–50.

However, Apollonius' debt to Homer is never explicitly declared in his epic. Although the narrator of the *Argonautica* is less self-effacing than the Homeric narrator,[20] his authorial comments do not extend to explicitly naming poets he admires or dislikes, unlike Callimachus in the *Aetia* and *Iambi*. He passes over well-known material (1.18–22) but without saying that it is his policy always to do so. If it had been, he would hardly have chosen for his epic a subject which appears to have been as popular in Homer's time as it was afterwards.

The extent of allusion and erudition in Alexandrian poetry has been construed in various ways, and used to interpret the poets' relationship to their surroundings and to each other. It has been suggested that it is due to a 'cultural identity crisis' variously caused by physical dislocation from the heart of the Greek world and contact with a non-Greek culture,[21] by the disintegration of democracy,[22] or by the burden of the greatness of past literature.[23] However, there is little historical or literary evidence for such a sense of crisis.[24] To see in the main characters of the *Argonautica* a portrayal of insecure, disillusioned Hellenistic man[25] is to disregard the many such figures who appear in Homer and tragedy, as well as the complexity of characterisation in Apollonius. The contrast of Greek and barbarian ways in the epic may reflect the cultural mixture of Apollonius' environment, but does not show that it was problematic. Apollonius carefully sidesteps the issue of confronting Egyptian civilisation by making Egypt one of the few Mediterranean countries which the Argonauts do not visit, while acknowledging it in a reference (4.267–81) which shows the common Greek awe of its ancient culture.

---

[20] For references, cf. F. De Martino, "Note apolloniane," *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia di Bari* 27–28 (1984–85), 111–17.

[21] For this view, cf. J. Rostropowicz, *Odbicie Rzeczywistości Politycznej społecznej i gospodarczej w poezji aleksandryjskiej* (Warsaw: 1983) 108–12, G. Zanker, *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry* (London: 1987) 19–27, P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets* (Göttingen: 1988) 74–75.

[22] Cf. G. Bonelli, *Decadentismo antico e moderno: un confronto fra l'estetismo alessandrino e l'esperienza poetica contemporanea* (Turin: 1979) 5–10, A. W. Bulloch in P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox, eds., *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature v. 1: Greek Literature* (Cambridge: 1985) 543.

[23] Cf. S. Goldhill, "Framing and Polyphony: Readings in Hellenistic Poetry," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 32 (1986), 30–31. T. Gelzer and A. Henrichs in Bulloch et al. (1993), 130–51 and 171–95, argue for and against the view that Hellenistic literature is the product of a literary crisis in the fourth century.

[24] Scepticism is expressed by Hopkinson (1988), 11, Hutchinson (1988), 2–3.

[25] As is done by, for example, G. Lawall, "Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Jason as Anti-Hero," *Yale Classical Studies* 19 (1966), 169; contrast Hutchinson (1988), 85–86.

Apollonius' use of Homer has also been used as evidence in the arguments about his purported quarrel with Callimachus, supposedly reflected in polemical remarks in the former's poetry, as the origin of the quarrel has been attributed to the issues of length, style and supposed plagiarism by Apollonius.[26] However, the biographical evidence for the quarrel is now seen as unreliable,[27] and Callimachus' comments about poetry are open to interpretations which are favourable to Apollonius,[28] to the extent that the *Argonautica* has been claimed as 'a Callimachean epic'.[29] The intriguing relationship between the style and poetic concerns of Callimachus, Theocritus, and Apollonius is better evidence for their attitude to one another's work than any later tradition could be.[30]

The lack of other Hellenistic epic means that the modern reader sees the *Argonautica* in isolation rather than in the context of other epics of the time. Ziegler believed that the 'Alexandrian' movement was a small and atypical part of literary activity in Hellenistic times. Though his classification of Apollonius as a 'traditionalist'[31] was mistaken, Ziegler's emphasis on the mass of lost literature has been borne out by papyrus discoveries of fragments of Hellenistic epics which

---

[26] On accusations of plagiarism (which appear never to have been levelled at epic) cf. E. Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig: 1912) 6–33. Russell (1979), 11–12, shows that they could not apply to a poet who made creative use of borrowed material. The suggestion of P. M. Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria* v. 1 (Oxford: 1972) 637–40, 751–53) that the quarrel between Apollonius and Callimachus resulted from some such accusation is therefore unconvincing.

[27] Following Newman (1974), 355–56, M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London: 1981) ch. 11, M. B. Sánchez, "Tradición e innovación en la literatura helenística," *Unidad y pluralidad en el mundo antiguo: Actas del VI congreso español de estudios clásicos 1* (Madrid: 1983), 136–39, Lloyd-Jones (1984), 58–60, R. L. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica Book 3* (Cambridge: 1989) 4–7.

[28] Cf. T. M. Klein, "Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius and the Concept of the 'Big Book'" *Eranos* 73 (1975), 16–25 (on the μέγα βιβλίον 'big book' (Call. fr. 465)), Hutchinson (1988), 77–84, Hopkinson (1988), 86–91. Hutchinson (1988), 79 and n. 104, and 202–3, argues against the view that Callimachus and Theocritus specifically attacked attempts to follow Homer.

[29] By M. J. M. Margolies in *Apollonius' Argonautica: a Callimachean Epic* (Diss. Colorado: 1981); she believes, however, that the attempt was recognised as a failure even by Apollonius. E.-R. Schwinge, *Künstlichkeit von Kunst: zur Geschichtlichkeit der alexandrinischen Poesie* (Munich: 1986) 153–54 takes a similar line.

[30] Cf. Newman (1974), 351–55, and on similarity of subject matter in Callimachus and Apollonius, cf. Fraser (1972) v. 1, 628–29, 637–39. Most recent scholarship is sensitive to the similarities between the three poets; cf. for example Hutchinson (1988), 87–96, R. L. Hunter, *The Argonautica of Apollonius: Literary Studies* (Cambridge: 1993) 115–16.

[31] K. Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos* (Leipzig: 1966) 50.

show no 'Callimachean' influence.[32] If his work could be compared with these other epics, Apollonius' similarities to Callimachus and his differences from Homer in language and style would set his work apart from that of other contemporary epic poets.

Nevertheless, Apollonius' choice of epic clearly makes him more directly comparable to Homer than are the other Alexandrian poets. While the challenge of working out one's relationship to Homer faced every classical poet, it was particularly pressing for the writer of epic, since this was Homer's genre and the reader could compare the work with Homer's in every respect. Apollonius' use of Homer may be described, like Virgil's, as 'emulation' provided that does not suggest a striving to reproduce exactly the same effect as his model.[33] The relation of the *Argonautica* to Homer is 'intertextual' in the true sense that it is possible to transpose the systems of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into the later poem; the Homeric text is present at every level in Apollonius'. This special relationship does not exclude the possibiliy of alluding to other poetry. In particular, the references to the later developments enacted in Euripides' *Medea* form another pattern which is interwoven into the matrix of allusion to Homer without detracting from it or interfering with it.[34] Far from being a dead end, epic presented more opportunities for intertextual complexity than any other genre. It is clear that Homeric allusion is not a detachable extra, but permeates the *Argonautica* in all its aspects. Instead of concealing the debt of epic to Homer, the *Argonautica* celebrates it, constantly inviting the reader to recall the earlier poems.

The broad term 'allusion' covers a variety of techniques and effects which can only be fully appreciated in the light of general areas of comparability between Apollonius and Homer which are not specific to particular passages. As stated above, poets had already devised ways of using allusion to point out similarities and contrasts with an earlier work of literature, or to hint at future or past events. However, the following chapters will study some wide-ranging kinds of allusion which are particularly important in the *Argonautica.*

---

[32] Cf. Lloyd-Jones (1984), 58.

[33] Cf. Conte's use of the term (G. B. Conte, trans C. Segal, *The Rhetoric of Imitation* (Ithaca: 1986) 36–38).

[34] For an example of this, cf. V. H. Knight, "Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4.167–70 and Euripides' *Medea*," *CQ* (1991), 248–50.

Apollonius' chosen medium of epic allows wholesale appropriation of Homeric devices such as 'typical scenes' and extended similes which are especially suited to the genre. One instance of a Homeric 'typical scene', the sacrifice in Book 1, will be compared in detail to its Homeric models, together with Apollonius' versions of two other scenes which are represented by more than one Homeric example: shipwreck and boxing match. A related area is the characteristic narrative patterns and phraseology of battles; as there are several scenes in the *Argonautica* which make use of these conventions, they have been discussed in a separate chapter. I shall have some general remarks to make about Apollonius' similes later in this chapter, and a number of similes will subsequently be discussed.

Another Homeric device, of a very different kind, is the pantheon of gods who intervene or otherwise appear in the poem; these will be considered individually, by their ways of affecting the action, and as they are seen in action at crucial points. In a work where the differences in knowledge and perception between gods, characters, narrator and reader are so marked, human awareness of the gods (and its absence) becomes a substitute for direct narration of their activity, and in this area too the *Argonautica* can profitably be compared with Homer.

The generous amount of narrative which can be encompassed in an epic also permits several scenes to be based on the same scene or successive scenes in Homer. This combines with an apparently new kind of allusion, the placing of different characters in Homeric locations in the series of 'Odyssean' scenes of Book 4. Both these scenes and episodes elsewhere in the *Argonautica* which are based on the same models will be discussed in detail, together with the way other adventures in the travels of Odysseus are used in the *Argonautica.*

Before we can understand the varied ways in which these scenes and types of scene exploit their Homeric predecessors, it is first necessary to develop some criteria for comparing Apollonius and Homer and for controlling the almost limitless instances where some relationship can be found between the *Argonautica* on the one hand and the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* on the other.

The commentaries on Apollonius are full of examples of similarities to Homer, mainly verbal parallels. While individually these may help in the understanding of Apollonius' technique and in the interpretation of individual passages, much more insight can be gained from studying the patterns they form and how these function in the

economy of the poem,[35] and by including allusion on a larger scale, at the level of the scene and above.

The term *arte allusiva* was first used by Pasquali in 1942 with regard to Roman poets, to describe the technique of alluding to other poems in a way which can be recognised by the reader. He realised that the term had wider application, and it has been often applied in discussing Hellenistic poetry. In my terminology I have not been so precise as Pasquali; I have usually used terms such as 'echo', 'parallel' and 'similarity' for individual points of contact between two passages and reserved the term 'allusion' for the sum of all these components.

It is important to distinguish the creative use of allusion from parody and plagiarism. Plagiarism has already been discussed; like it, the technique of parody was recognised in antiquity, though most examples of it are now lost. The *Argonautica* as a whole lacks both the exaggeration of characteristics and the application of 'high-flown' style to banal subjects which are the commonest features of parody.[36] However, the battle scenes in Books 1 and 2, which distort the conventions used in Homeric battles, manipulate these conventions in a way similar to parody.

a) *The Homeric World*

Firstly, we can make some general points of comparison between the world of the *Argonautica* and that of the Homeric epics. There are many areas which invite such comparison: *Realien* such as navigation,[37] dress, artefacts and architecture, social interactions in customs and the organisation of city and family life, and the code of behaviour and shared beliefs about religion and the value of human life. In the case of the *Realien* in the narrative, it may be said that Apollonius does not deviate strikingly from Homer, though contemporary features may be found, such as have been suggested for Aeetes' palace.[38] Apollonius does not indulge in detailed description of objects (except

---

[35] Cf. Conte (1986), 23, and with regard to Virgil, A. Barchiesi, *La traccia del modello: effetti omerici nella narrazione virgiliana* (Pisa: 1984) 92.

[36] Cf. P. Rau, *Paratragodia: Untersuchungen einer komischen Form des Aristophanes* (Munich: 1967) 10–17, esp. 11.

[37] Cf. H. de la Ville de Mirmont, "Le navire Argo et la science nautique d'Apollonios de Rhodes," *Revue internationale de l'enseignement* 30 (1895), 230–85.

[38] Cf. G. Roux, "Commentaire sur Théocrite, Apollonios, et quelques épigrammes de l'*Anthologie*," *Revue de Philologie* 36 (1963), 85–87.

those of divine manufacture like Jason's cloak and the ball offered to Eros), unlike Homer,[39] nor in describing food.[40]

The social structures and institutions of the *Argonautica* also resemble those in Homer. None of the three epics is set in a city living normally at peace; in the *Argonautica* the scene of the action moves with the ship, apart from the stay in Colchis on the fringes of the world. Although the *Argonautica* resembles the *Odyssey* in describing the travels of its heroes at length, unlike the *Odyssey* it stops short of recounting events after their return home, events which would correspond to those in the second half of the *Odyssey*. The farewell of Jason to his family before he embarks is the only scene set in Pagasae (the assembly, sacrifice and feast on the shore which follow look ahead to the voyage itself). The *Argonautica* thus lacks the 'familiar' setting of a palace in the Greek world against which the wanderings can be set. In this respect it resembles the *Iliad*, where the only home the Greek army have is their camp, but it has no close equivalent to the polarity represented by the habitations of the Greeks and of the Trojans;[41] the scenes in Aeetes' palace, apart from the Argonauts' first approach to it (3.210–41) are too focused on Medea to fill out a picture of the community in which she lives.

In the absence of a setting on land to act as a framework for the voyage, the Argonauts themselves become the community against which all the others are compared, and are accordingly individually more characterised than the companions Odysseus has for the first part of his travels.[42] However, they cannot as a group cover the full spectrum of heroic society; they are all of similar age and social status, and, until Medea comes on board, there are no women.

The Argonauts may sometimes disagree amongst themselves about their priorities for action in a particular situation, but they share many beliefs and attitudes with each other and with characters in Homer, and some comment on these will be found in the discussion of the rôle of the gods.[43] Other aspects of Homeric morality are less

---

[39] For example Nestor's cup (Il. 11.632–35); on objects in Homer and their significance, cf. J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford: 1980) 1–49.

[40] For example, Apollonius' Circe episode contains nothing corresponding to Od. 10.234–35.

[41] Cf. O. Taplin, *Homeric Soundings* (Oxford: 1992) 94–96.

[42] J. F. Carspecken, "Apollonius Rhodius and the Homeric Epic," *Yale Classical Studies* 13 (1952), 109–25 makes the Argonauts collectively the 'hero' of the poem.

[43] On the way 'Homeric' values are used to characterise in Virgil, cf. Barchiesi (1984), 15–16.

prominent. It is not surprising, in a poem whose plot apparently owes more to the *Odyssey* than to the *Iliad*, that the concern of the characters in the latter poem with τιμή 'honour' is not important in Apollonius (except to Aeetes: 3.376, 3.596). But the concept of Zeus as upholder of justice in human life, often seen as characteristic of the *Odyssey* and Hesiod,[44] is almost absent from the poem, like Zeus himself.[45]

b) *Lexical Similarity*

The setting of the *Argonautica* in a Homeric cosmos which has been distorted by changes of emphasis creates a framework for more detailed points of comparison. These are often grounded in similarities in the text to particular passages in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and are hence bound up with the whole question of the appropriation of Homeric language by Apollonius. The language of ancient epic, more than that of any other genre, was far removed from everyday speech and hence self-consciously 'literary'. This was already so in Homer's day, as can be seen in the preservation of archaic features and the coexistence of different forms within the same paradigm; but after five hundred years of language change, during which time the language of epic remained almost static, and the spoken language changed considerably, the distance had become even greater. While Apollonius takes account of the changes, particularly in the introduction of words from prose writers, his lexicon remains grounded in that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

At the lowest level, Homeric phraseology and vocabulary pervade the whole of the *Argonautica*, though varying in density. Such a reliance on Homeric expression does not prevent a passage from being innovative in other ways (as in for example the opening proem,[46] or many similes). Even in the act of lexical innovation, Apollonius can also approximate to Homeric style by the coining of new words on the pattern of Homeric words.[47] Verbal imitation, such as the in-

[44] Cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley: 1971) 28–36.
[45] Except in his intervention after the murder of Apsyrtus (4.557–61).
[46] On innovation in the proem, cf. V. de Marco, "Osservazioni su Apollonio Rodio 1.1–22," in *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin: 1963) 350–55.
[47] Cf. C. J. Goodwin, *Apollonius Rhodius, his Figures, Syntax and Vocabulary* (Diss.

stances listed in Campbell, *Echoes*, may be defined as the use of the same lexical items, often reinforced by similar metrical position, metre, sounds, word division and morphology. Despite the numerous instances of such imitation which can be cited, Apollonius continually varies Homeric phraseology;[48] no more than half a line is repeated from Homer at any one time, and even that much is rare. Often Apollonius substitutes a word of equivalent meaning in a phrase or uses the same root but with a different prefix.

The principle of *variatio*, in accordance with which a borrowed phrase is altered, is very important to Alexandrian poets. A related concept is *oppositio in imitando*,[49] where the alteration contrasts with the original phrase, for example by substituting a word of opposite meaning. The difference between Apollonius' practice in altering Homer and the use of unchanged Homeric lines and half-lines in Quintus Smyrnaeus was noticed already by Gerhard,[50] who, however, saw variation as the device of a thief anxious to cover his tracks, 'mutato uno duobusve verbis furtum obtegere studebant', 'by changing a word or two they strove to conceal their theft', rather than as part of a creative technique. Many examples of these two devices can be found in my quotations of Homeric parallels.

The reader is faced with the problem of how allusion to Homer is 'controlled', in other words how to determine which instances of such similarities are important and in what way they work.

It is often hard to decide whether a similarity between the *Argonautica* and the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* should recall a specific passage in Homer or whether such a resemblance is merely a by-product of Apollonius'

Baltimore: 1891) 12–14, G. Boesch, *De Apollonii Rhodii elocutione* (Diss. Berlin: 1908) 60–64, G. Marxer, *Die Sprache des Apollonius Rhodius in ihren Beziehungen zu Homer* (Diss. Zürich: 1935).

[48] Cf. e.g. G. Giangrande, "Zu Sprachgebrauch, Technik und Text des Apollonios Rhodios," *Classical and Byzantine Monographs* 1 (Amsterdam: 1973). It is thus hard to use resemblance to Homer as a guide in textual criticism, since a Homeric phrase in the text of Apollonius may be due to a scribe recalling Homer (for an example, cf. E. Livrea, "L'epos philologique: Apollonios de Rhodes et quelques homérismes méconnus," *Antiquité Classique* 49 (1980), 148–49 on 1.550–51). The prevalence of non-Homeric words and forms in Apollonius is sufficiently great for the occurrence or absence of a word or form in Homer to be no guide to whether it should remain in Apollonius. If anything, a variant which differs from Homer should be preferred to one which reproduces a Homeric phrase exactly.

[49] A phrase first used by Kuiper (1896), v. 1, 114.

[50] E. Gerhard, *Lectiones Apollonianae* (Leipzig: 1816) 83–84. The quoted phrase occurs on p. 85.

adopting Homeric language. For many Homeric parallels listed in commentaries and Campbell, *Echoes*, the original context of the Homeric phrase apparently contributes little to the interpretation of the passage in Apollonius. In these cases resemblance to a particular passage in Homer is a way of giving the passage a general 'epic' colour, at least in its language, and the reader is not intended to recall the original Homeric context.[51] This is especially likely if the lines or phrases occur more than once in Homer or if the similarity lies in words without obvious referents, as (for example) in a string of particles attached to words of very different meaning. However, allusions can be made where the overlap is only small,[52] even a single word, such as ἀοίδιμος 'a subject for song' (4.1143); this is the case with many of Apollonius' uses of Homeric *hapax legomena*, though in others the Homeric context does not apparently matter, especially when the word was common in later Greek.[53] Homeric 'ornamental epithets', which may have seemed like formulaic line-fillers to Apollonius, may appear in the *Argonautica*, though if they do they usually do not remain ornamental but are either apt to the context[54] or convey a feeling of 'epic style'. As a general rule, the amount of overlap in vocabulary which is required before the influence of a particular passage becomes undeniable is in inverse proportion to the rarity of that vocabulary. Another principle is that if the Homeric passage concerned was especially famous in Apollonius' time less is needed to establish an allusion;[55] many Homeric passages on which Apollonius relies heavily (such as the wanderings of Odysseus) are famous for the ancient as for the modern reader.

Where there is a pattern of references to the same scene extending over an episode or several episodes in Apollonius, less similarity may be needed in any one passage for it to be worth noting, as is

[51] For a similar technique, across language, in Virgil's use of Theocritean language in the *Eclogues*, cf. I. M. le M. du Quesnay, "From Polyphemus to Corydon: Virgil *Eclogue* 2 and the *Idylls* of Theocritus" in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, eds. D. West and T. Woodman (Cambridge: 1979), 43.

[52] G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen: 1964) 53 denies that this occurs in Virgil; R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford: 1987) 103, disagrees.

[53] Unless there are other shared words in the context (cf. p. 130 n. 16 on ποίμνη). On Homeric *hapax legomena* in tragedy, cf. Garner (1990), Index s.v. *hapax legomenon* and in Euripides and Apollonius cf. Kumpf (1974).

[54] Cf. p. 86 on ἐυπλόκαμος (1.976). Virgil does this too; cf. Barchiesi (1984), 99–101.

[55] On the appeal of the exceptional to Virgil, cf. Barchiesi (1984), 96.

the case with much of the 'Circe' and 'Cyclops' material. With many similes, a vehicle which resembles that of a Homeric simile requires less verbal closeness for a connection to be established (as for example at 4.1452–56/Il. 16.641–44). Similes and the allusions to 'typical scenes' may be 'non-specific'; no one Homeric passage is especially important and the resemblance to Homeric lines carries weight without referring back to one particular passage.[56] More generally still, the presence or absence of Homeric language, especially common formulae, can change the stylistic register without any actual 'allusion' being made.

Generally a reader can suggest there is an allusion if recollection of the Homeric context contributes (by similarity or difference) to a reading of the poem. My usage of 'allusion' thus corresponds to Conte's 'emulation'. Another area where interpretation remains open-ended is how many associations the reader is to take from the Homeric passage. The context influences whether the reader perceives contrast or similarity, and whether the effect is (for example) ironic, sinister or pathetic, since such an interpretation may be implied by other passages in the poem or information the reader possesses (such as knowledge of how the myth continues). Frequently, allusions also suggest a mood or emotion not explicitly described, or hint at future developments, for example by recalling Euripides' *Medea*.[57] The range and purpose of the allusion are left to the reader to work out. What need not be disputed is the potential in each case to tap into the reader's intellectual and emotional response to Homer.

Finally, there are some special cases of lexical similarity. Apollonius also enjoys puns, often relying on close knowledge of Homeric dialect (for example the pun on the two verbs sharing the form -λέξατο (cf. p. 302) at 4.833) in which an alternative meaning is hinted at in Apollonius' words, rejected but contrasting amusingly with the apparent meaning.

Another kind of verbal echo may be found in the use of names. This may consist in the choice of one name where the tradition offered alternatives, the invention of names not given by tradition (which

[56] These categories resemble the 'modello-genere' type as opposed to the 'modello-esemplare' of Barchiesi (1984), 96–106.

[57] As yet there has been no thorough study of allusions to Euripides' play, but some suggestions may be found in Knight (1991), Hunter (1993), 74, and index to Hunter (1993) s.v. 'Euripides'.

may also be common nouns), or the chance to introduce an 'inessential' name at a particular point. The first type may be found in the Hylas episode, where the choice of 'Polyphemus' as the name of one of the participants and his prominence in the scene reinforces other allusions to Homer's Cyclops episode. The names of the Argonauts' adversaries in the battles against the Doliones and the Bebryces may be partially Apollonius' invention, and may, like the scenes as a whole, refer to Homeric battle scenes and their typical elements. The prominence of the 'Circaean plain' in Colchis prepares for the appearance of Circe in Book 4 and maintains the 'Circe theme' which runs through the epic.[58]

A much studied aspect of Apollonius' use of Homer is the apparent references to contemporary grammatical debates on Homer's text and the meanings of particular Homeric words. This line of study was initiated by Merkel[59] and more cautiously discussed by Erbse;[60] many examples of it will be found in the commentaries. It is, however, uncertain how far the discussions in our sources reflect the state of Homeric criticism in Apollonius' time. Even when the use of a disputed word or an echo of a controversial passage might refer to a contemporary debate, it does not follow that the context of the Homeric instance is always significant. The cumulative effect, as with the references to contemporary scientific theories, is to stress Apollonius' learning, and indeed the two devices are not so far apart; the gap between literary and scientific research was still small in his time.[61] However, it is a special instance of Apollonius' *doctrina*, since the subject of learning is not the natural world but the poem's main literary model; it can also be said to be a special case of Apollonius' use of Homer, since it also allows him to display his knowledge of contemporary learning. Thus Apollonius' debt to Homer intersects with his use of contemporary scholarship, and two ways of referring to texts outside the poem are united. I have not referred to this type of allusion except where the content of the Homeric passage is relevant;

---

58 On Virgil's introduction of names to fit a pattern of allusion to particular characters, cf. Lyne (1987), 103 and n. 5.

59 R. Merkel, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (Leipzig: 1854) lxxi–clxxxvi.

60 Cf. H. Erbse, "Homerscholien und Hellenistische Glossare bei Apollonios Rhodios," *Hermes* 81 (1953), 163–96.

61 Both Eratosthenes (cf. Fraser (1972), v. 1, 623–24) and Archimedes (Fraser (1972), v. 1, 407–9) had a foot in both camps and apparently wrote poetry about mathematics.

I do not think that it deserves the prominence within the technique of *arte allusiva* which it has often received,[62] important though it may be in other respects. The importance of specific verbal allusions by means of shared lexical items, which is stressed by Campbell, Giangrande and some commentators, should not overshadow the rôle of similarity of subject matter, situation, character, scene structure and other types of Homeric influence.

c) *The Simile*

One area in which Apollonius can be seen to have anticipated modern Homeric scholarship is in his approach to the simile. Every simile in the *Argonautica* bears some relationship to Homer, either by recalling a particular model or type or by rejecting direct Homeric precedents only to recall Homer in other ways.[63] The significance of these relationships has changed as the technique of the Homeric simile has itself been re-evaluated.

It was once thought that the typical Homeric simile had a single point of comparison, from which it digressed in an attractive but irrelevant way. For example, Bowra says that 'the normal aim of the simile is to compare one single aspect and no more'.[64] Fränkel was an early dissenter from this approach in his investigation of similarities in mood and detail between simile and narrative, though even those who believed that similes usually had only one point of comparison had to admit that there were exceptions.[65]

---

[62] For example as expressed by G. Giangrande, "'Arte Allusiva' and Alexandrian Epic Poetry," *CQ* n.s. 17 (1967), 85. For a similar criticism of this approach, cf. J. Farrell, *Vergil's Georgics and the Traditions of Ancient Epic* (New York: 1991) 13–14.

[63] For some examples, cf. Hunter on 3.755–65, 3.967–72, Hunter (1993), 129–38. For general discussion of Apollonius' similes, cf. also E. G. Wilkins, "A Classification of the Similes in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius," *Classical Weekly* 14 (1921), 162–66, H. Färber, *Zu dichterischen Kunst in Apollonios Rhodios' Argonautica (Die Gleichnisse)* (Diss. Berlin: 1932), Carspecken (1952), 58–99, H. P. Drögemüller, *Die Gleichnisse im hellenistichen Epos* (Diss. Hamburg: 1956).

[64] C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford: 1930) 127; similar statements appear on pp. 117 and 126. The 'type 3' of D. J. N. Lee, *The Similes of the Iliad and the Odyssey Compared* (Sydney: 1964) 6 is similes with irrelevant details. A survey of critical discussion of Homer's similes appears in R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Words and the Poet: Characteristic Techniques of Style in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford: 1989) 63–67.

[65] H. Fränkel, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse* (Göttingen: 1921). For example, Il. 15.271–76, Il. 15.586–88, cf. Bowra (1930), 127, H. Düntzer, *Homerische Abhandlungen* (Leipzig: 1872) 486–91.

It was recognised from the first that Apollonius' similes do not abound in redundant details, but instead establish close, multiple points of comparison between the simile and the situation it illustrates. Clausing's study of scholarship on Homeric similes in antiquity[66] claimed that ancient critics found them too dissimilar from the action they described, and that Apollonius implicitly made similar criticisms by making his similes more closely parallel to the action. Apart from the mistaken assumption that any stylistic difference from Homer is necessarily a criticism, it would be more in keeping with Apollonius' approach to Homer for the increase in 'relevance' of Apollonius' similes to be classed with the abandoning of formulae and word-for-word repetition as ways of writing a different sort of epic, rather than a pale imitation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Like the avoidance of exact repetition, this change creates a denser texture than Homer, and was adopted by Virgil.[67]

In recent years the Homeric simile has been seen to be less digressive than was once thought. Critics have become more sensitive to the working of individual similes in points of correspondence and similarity of mood, their function within the narrative and use of contrast. They have noticed two syntactic features of the simile, both also found in Apollonius, a change of point of comparison during the simile[68] and a 'mismatch' in which the grammatical subject of the vehicle is not that of the simile in which it is introduced.[69]

Moreover, it is now clear that Homer's similes are not created purely to suit the moment in hand; there are certain 'types', which are often associated with particular kinds of scene. Homer also uses pairs or sequences of similes with related subjects, creating a network of connected imagery; conversely, pairs or sequences of similes can present different actions, different views of the same action or a contrast in the subject matter of the simile itself.[70] All the devices

---

[66] A. Clausing, *Kritik und Exegese der homerischen Gleichnisse in Altertum* (Diss. Freiburg: 1913).

[67] Cf. D. West, "Multiple-Correspondence Similes in the *Aeneid*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969), 40–49.

[68] E.g. at Il. 11.155–58, Il. 15.624–29 (cf. 2.70–76, 3.1327–29, 3.1399–403, 4.1061–65). Cf. Fränkel (1921), 6–7, Düntzer (1872), 491–94, Carspecken (1952), 85–86, the last of whom doubting that Homer does this deliberately.

[69] These are discussed by Lee (1964), 6–7, who cites among others Od. 9.391 and Il. 9.4. Apollonian examples: 1.1003–5, 2.79–82, 2.130–34, 3.291–95, 3.1359–62, 4.139–42. The last sentence in the simile may have as its subject something corresponding to the subject of the apodosis, as at 3.1359–62 or Il. 9.6–7.

[70] On connected imagery, cf. C. Moulton, *Similes in the Homeric Poems* (Göttingen:

mentioned above can also be found in the *Argonautica*, for example in the similes at the end of Book 3.

In the light of these developments, attempts have also been made to classify Homeric similes by categories which pay attention to the way the simile is used, and these classifications can also be applied to the *Argonautica*. In Coffey's system, most of Apollonius' similes would fit best into the category of those which describe a situation[71] because of their complexity. Many of his other categories are also represented, including those which illustrate emotions,[72] though it is often hard to separate these from similes which correspond to a whole situation. In view of Apollonius' well-known interest in 'psychology' and emotion, it is surprising that Coffey's category of 'psychological characteristics' is not more prominent,[73] and that there are also no examples of the rare Homeric type of the simile describing a permanent feature of someone's character and only one about mass emotion (4.1280–87). Apollonius may avoid using such similes because he has developed ways of describing states of mind directly. Many of the categories proposed by Scott can be found in Apollonius;[74] some of his others (summary before battle, withdrawal of hero) belong in long battle scenes and hence do not fit easily into the *Argonautica*.

Like Homer, Apollonius experiments with setting familiar types of

---

1977) 18–49; for a semiotic approach to the imagery in Homer's similes, cf. S. A. Nimis, *Narrative Semiotics in the Epic Tradition: the Simile* (Bloomington: 1987) 23–95. On contrasting simile pairs in Homer, cf. T. K. Hubbard, "Antithetical Simile Pairs in Homer," *Grazer Beiträge* 10 (1981), 59–67.

[71] Cf. M. Coffey, "The Function of the Homeric Simile," *AJP* 78 (1957), 125–27.

[72] There are similes illustrating movement (1.536–39, 2.933–35, 4.139–42), appearance (1.1003–5, 3.1229–30, 4.125–26), noise (2.1077–78, 3.1370–71), physical strength (3.1259–61, 1351–53, cf. Coffey (1957), 129) and measurement of space (3.1272–74, 4.174–75), time (3.1340–42, 4.109–13) and numbers (4.214–17). Emotions described by similes are mainly Medea's: 3.291–95, 3.1020–21 (cf. Il. 23.598–99); on similes illustrating Medea's emotions, cf. J. Clack, "The Medea Similes of Apollonius Rhodius," *Classical Journal* 68 (1972–73), 310–15, and on emotion similes in Homer, cf. W. C. Scott, *The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile* (Leiden: 1974) 28–31. Possible similes about relationships occur at 1.269–75, 3.656–63, 4.1062–65. The closest to an 'indecision simile' (cf. Coffey (1957), 130–31) is 3.756–59; cf. Hunter on 3.755–65.

[73] One subsection of this category, short comparison of a mortal to a god in one particular respect, is almost absent. Mortals are compared to gods, as in Homer, as they enter the narrative (1.307–9, 3.876–84) or go to battle (3.1282–83) (cf. Scott (1974), 68–70).

[74] Cf. Scott (1974), 15–42. Similes for journeys (2.541–46, 3.276–77, 4.847–49) and actions of gods and monsters (1.1003–5, 4.152–53, 4.847–49, 4.1682–86), 'variation of standard themes' (e.g. 3.1229–30), groups (1.1027–28, 1049–50, 3.1370–71, 4.214–17, 4.485–87) and entrance of the hero (3.957–59, 3.1359–62).

simile in new contexts.[75] In some instances Apollonius bases successive similes on Homeric models which are close to one another;[76] this resembles some of the structural similarities in the episodes which derive from Odysseus' wanderings, where consecutive scenes may be based on successive Odyssean adventures. In other cases, the simile alludes to a scene which is itself a model for the simile's context in Apollonius.[77]

Apollonius imitates and extends the subject matter, style and technique of Homer's similes; features originally developed by an oral tradition are transferred without incongruity to a literate epic. The similes have an importance beyond being one of many epic devices adopted by Apollonius.[78] They have an intimate relationship to the technique of allusion as a whole; allusions generally could be seen as a kind of simile, likening events in the *Argonautica* to situations in Homer. The similes themselves present a distilled version of Apollonius' techinique of alluding to Homer. Some adapt a single Homeric model, others use a Homeric theme without being based on any one Homeric simile, and others are un-Homeric in material. They exploit contrast as well as similarity, use themes and patterns, are open-ended, and may combine several models or fragment a single model. Where the Homeric context is relevant, the simile becomes an allusion as well, the most notable cases being where simile and context are based on the same Homeric scene. Finally, the developments in critical approaches to Homer's similes, considered both in themselves and in comparison to Apollonius', illustrates on a small scale the way changing fashions in Homeric scholarship can have repercussions for the study of the *Argonautica*.

---

[75] For example, Od. 6.130–34 'reads' Iliadic tradition; cf. Pucci (1987), 157–61. Apollonius uses simile vehicles usually associated with battles in new contexts at 1.774–81 and 4.1338–43.

[76] For example, 3.1294–95 and 1327–29 draw on successive similes in Il. 15.618–21 and Il. 15.624–28. 4.1300–2 and 4.1453–55 use Il. 2.459–63 and 2.469–71 respectively.

[77] E.g. 1.879–82, which is based on Il. 2.87–90, occurs amid other similarities to *Iliad* 2, especially the resemblance between Heracles and Thersites; also 4.674–75/*Odyssey* 10, 3.876–84/*Odyssey* 6. For further discussion of these passages, cf. pp. 115, 188–89, 236–37.

[78] On the similes as a way of evoking 'epic aspirations', cf. Nimis (1987), 95.

d) *Relationships between Scenes*

On another level, two scenes or episodes can be related. The frequency of allusions to particular Homeric scenes has been often noted but its poetic significance has not always been appreciated. Kuiper, commenting on Call. hy. 3.30–31 and its parallels with *Iliad* 8, remarked on the tedium of this device for the modern reader.[79] Recent discussions have been more sympathetic to the technique and have demonstrated how the action or mood of a Homeric scene can be hinted at and enhance and deepen appreciation of the passage in question.[80] Indeed, no analysis of a scene in Apollonius is now complete without at least an acknowledgement of which Homeric scenes have been used as models for it. Bulloch's words on Callimachus' sixth hymn could apply equally well to Apollonius; 'detailed reference to Homer [is] . . . not simply for . . . arid lexicographical tricks any more than for reckless academic satire'.

The resemblance of two scenes is often less immediately obvious than a verbal allusion to a particular passage, and it is harder to define guidelines for establishing when such a resemblance exists. Where there is no actual overlap of characters or location, the reader must rely on similarities of subject matter and action. Some cases are obvious, such as the 'Odyssean' scenes of Book 4, and the boxing match in Book 2 which recalls its predecessors in *Iliad* 23 and *Odyssey* 18. In others, a scene in Apollonius can be seen as an instance of a 'typical scene' which is repeated in Homer, though we need reasons, such as similarity of phraseology or content, for preferring one Homeric example over another as the main model, as with Aeetes' arming. Details of narrative may match the Homeric model, as in, for example, the course of events on Lemnos compared with Homer's Circe episode. Sometimes there is a shared simile, as when both Medea and Nausicaa are compared to Artemis (3.876–86, Od. 6.102–9). Often there is a similarity of mood and emotion, for example in the scenes involving the various 'Cyclops figures', although detecting this kind of similarity is a more subjective matter.

Almost invariably these similarities in situation are accompanied by verbal allusions of the type described above, which may come in

[79] Cf. Kuiper (1896), v. 1, 56; it is more sympathetically viewed by Herter (1929), 73.

[80] Cf. e.g. Bulloch (1977), especially 98–115; the quotation below is from p. 114.

clusters. However, in extreme cases, there may be a resemblance but no verbal allusion. For example, useful analogies may be drawn between the Odyssean Lotus-Eaters and the Argonauts' stay in the Libyan desert; this suits the overall pattern of the use of Odysseus' wanderings (see below, pp. 32–35) at different places in the poem. In this case only similarities of situation and geographical location, not verbal allusions, hint at the Homeric passage. Nevertheless, in most cases resemblances between scenes are reinforced and established by verbal echoes. This is the case in the sequence of 'Odyssean' adventures in Book 4, where the resemblance to Homer would be obvious even without any other allusions. There are other ways of reinforcing similarities between scenes, for example by including a simile based on one in the Homeric passage (cf. above, n. 77).

In some cases I have outlined parallels between the structure of scenes in Apollonius and scenes in Homer, for example in the length, number and content of speeches. Such comparisons are speculative, often involving common factors in apparently widely differing passages (for example at 3.427–31 and Od. 7.331–33, or 2.311–16 and Od. 12.184–91, cf. pp. 230, 173), but in each case there are other good reasons for considering the two scenes to be similar in structure.

In other instances a passage may be located in the same place within the work's structure as its Homeric forerunner. This similarity may be in the number of lines from the poem's beginning or end (as in the sacrifices in Book 1 and *Iliad* 1), in position within the book (as in the opening of Book 3 with an Olympian scene)[81] or within the whole work (as in Phineus' guidance and its fulfillment in the second quarter of the poem, like that of Circe in the *Odyssey*). All these types of imitation can also be found in Virgil;[82] the second kind also has implications for the history of Homer's text, since verbal resemblances and structural features alike suggest that the present division of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had been made by Apollonius' time.[83]

---

[81] Cf. e.g. *Odyssey* 1, *Odyssey* 5, and *Iliad* 8. Another example is the end of Book 2/*Odyssey* 5 (Book 3 draws on *Odyssey* 6–8) (p. 75).

[82] Cf. the index to Knauer (1964), 543 col. 2. For an example in Virgil of imitation by locating a word the same number of lines from the end of the poem, cf. R. S. Scodel and R. F. Thomas, "Virgil and the Euphrates," *AJP* 105 (1984), 339, and for a similar parallel between Apollonius and Callimachus, cf. J. J. Clauss, *The Best of the Argonauts* (Berkeley: 1993) 21 n. 23.

[83] On verbal clues at the beginnings and ends of books, cf. M. Campbell, "Apollonian and Homeric Book Division," *Mnemosyne* ser. 4 36 (1983), 154–56. S. West (1967), 18–25 believes the present division is earlier than Zenodotus and

In many places Apollonius combines imitation of more than one Homeric passage, for example the boxing match in Book 2, which combines two such Homeric matches in *Iliad* 23 and *Odyssey* 18, or the opening of Book 3, which has elements of many Homeric scenes.[84] This technique has recently become known as *contaminatio*; I have avoided the use of this term because it sounds perjorative, while acknowledging the phenomenon itself. Conversely, one Homeric scene may contribute to several in Apollonius, as may be seen (for example) in my discussion of the treatment of the *Odyssey*'s Phaeacian and Circe episodes. The practice of alluding at different places to the same passage, and fragmenting the model by using different aspects of it, which is so characteristic of Apollonius, can be paralleled in Theocritus, though such allusions are spread over several poems.[85]

Above the level of individual scenes there are a number of overriding patterns. One is that of scenes which derive from Odysseus' travels, which are discussed below. Another pattern is the treatment of the gods in action where Homeric material (mostly from the *Iliad*) transforms scenes of divine activity. Other scenes encourage comparison of the Argonauts and the Greeks at Troy (cf. n. 106). Others again recall a type of scene rather than one particular example, and here too recent Homeric scholarship has some bearing on Apollonius' poetic technique.

Arend made an important advance in the understanding of the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in his study of Homeric 'typical scenes', sequences of actions which occur several times in the poems, keeping the same structure and some of the same phraseology. He

---

hence before Apollonius. N. J. Richardson, *The Iliad: a Commentary, volume VI: Books 21–24* (Cambridge: 1993) 20–21, suggests that the divisions of the *Iliad* may be Alexandrian; Taplin's analysis (Taplin (1992), 285–93) concludes that they are the work of a scholar, possibly Aristarchus (as stated in Ps.-Plu. Vit. Hom. 2.4), while K. Stanley, *The Shield of Homer: Narrative Structure in the Iliad* (Princeton: 1993) 249–61 attributes them to rhapsodes.

[84] P. G. Lennox, "Apollonius, *Argonautica* 31ff. and Homer," *Hermes* 108 (1980), 45–73. Virgil, like Apollonius, combines similar models from the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, including details from both; cf. F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge: 1989) 202–14, though I prefer to think of the combining or merging of several models rather than 'looking through' one to its background. For examples from Virgil, cf. Du Quesnay (1979), 44 on the *contaminatio* of Theocritus, *Idylls* 3 and 11 in *Eclogue* 2, and Cairns (1989), 230–48 on the combination of *Iliad* 23 and *Odyssey* 8 in the games of *Aeneid* 5. For the history of the term, cf. *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, eds. D. West and T. Woodman (Cambridge: 1979) index s.v. *contaminatio*.

[85] Kurz (1982), 138, remarks on his 'jeu constant et subtil avec et autour de l'épisode homérique' with Homer's Cyclops episode and *Idylls* 11, 25 and 22.

noticed in passing that Apollonius includes one example of each main type of 'typical scene', though sometimes expanding it or giving it unusual features.[86] When the description of an action is repeated in the *Argonautica*, a situation which would allow Apollonius to create his own 'typical scenes', it is carefully varied.[87] These techniques show how Apollonius can both resemble and differ from Homer. The inclusion of examples of Homeric 'typical scenes' locates Apollonius in the epic tradition where such scenes were a standard feature, but the appearance of a given type of scene only once diverges from Homeric practice. Arend misunderstood the reason for writing scenes of this kind, and criticised Apollonius for including them simply because similar scenes appear in Homer.[88] Apart from the function such scenes play within the plot of the poem (to take one example, the shipwreck of the sons of Phrixus causes the first meeting of Argonauts and Colchians), their appearance is a way of inviting the reader to compare Apollonius' work with Homer's, creating a superficial similarity which is revealed as a difference when the scene fails to recur. The other instances of these 'typical scenes' are not in the *Argonautica*, but in Homer.

Though battles in Homer are too varied to count as 'typical scenes', they too are regulated by conventions which Apollonius also uses or alters. Homer's boxing matches are not, strictly speaking, a 'typical scene' since there are only two of them, with basic structural similarities; Apollonius combines details of both. This technique is extended in the way the sacrifice and shipwreck (for example) each draw on several Homeric examples.

Apollonius also includes the large-scale 'set pieces' of the catalogue of Argonauts and the description of Jason's cloak, both in Book 1. These both copy a type of passage, catalogue and ecphrasis, which is incorporated into Homeric narrative and used sparingly, but which was used for entire poems by Hesiod and his imitators, and continued to be popular in Hellenistic times. Apollonius' use of these devices is thus in keeping with the taste of his contemporaries as well as recalling Homeric models.

---

[86] W. Arend, *Die Typischen Szenen bei Homer* (Berlin: 1933) 127–28.

[87] For example, in the repeated scenes of embarkation/disembarkation in the *Argonautica*, cf. de la Ville de Mirmont (1895), 274–79, P. Händel, *Beobachtungen zur epischen Technik des Apollonios Rhodios* (Munich: 1954) 82–87.

[88] Arend (1933), 138.

Both passages in Apollonius have attracted critical attention, with varying degrees of approval.[89] The Catalogue has been criticised for halting the poem when it has barely started and for being included only to copy the *Iliad*.[90] It does, however, fulfil an important function in introducing the Argonauts and the heroic world they inhabit, hinting at later developments in the poem and being part of the sequence of 'Homeric' scenes which open the poem. The Cloak's purpose is complex, since it not only alludes to the Homeric Shield of Achilles, but illustrates important themes, relates to the Odyssean material in the surrounding scene and recalls Alexandrian art.

A recurring ingredient of Homeric (and later) epic, an athletics match, is omitted, except insofar as it is represented in the boxing match, the race on Aegina (4.1765–72) and the rowing competition between the Argonauts (1.1153–71). Such games could have been included, since there was a tradition of a match on the voyage,[91] so Apollonius' divergence in this matter is his own choice. The absence of a descent to Hades will be discussed below (pp. 34–35).

Though Apollonius usually avoids repetition as practised by Homer, both in phraseology and in the repetition of 'typical scenes', he creates 'doublets' of events and characters, as Homer does. For example, Medea makes two suicide attempts, both cut short by Hera (3.806–19, 4.20–25); this duplication, like Homer's doublets of scenes, was

---

[89] On the Catalogue, cf. Carspecken (1952), 38–58, F. Vian, *Apollonios de Rhodes: Argonautiques* v. 1 (Paris: 1976) 4–10, Clauss (1993), ch. 2, Hunter (1993), 126–27; on the cloak, cf. Lawall (1966), 154–58, J. F. Collins, *Studies in Book One of the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Columbia: 1967) 55–85, D. N. Levin, "Δίπλαξ πορφυρέη," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 98 (1970), 17–36, H. A. Shapiro, "Jason's Cloak," *TAPA* 110 (1980), 263–86, Beye (1982) 91–92, M. Fusillo, *Il tempo delle Argonautiche* (Rome: 1985) 300–6, J. K. Newman, *The Classical Epic Tradition* (Madison: 1986) 77–80, Zanker (1987), 68–70, Clauss (1993), 120–29, Hunter (1993), 52–59.

[90] Some unfavourable opinions: J. W. Mackail, "Apollonius of Rhodes and the Romantic Epic" in *Lectures in Greek Poetry* (London: 1910), 255 'deplorable . . . perfectly benumbing', A. Körte, trans. J. Hammer and M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Poetry* (New York: 1929) 181 'a trial of endurance for the reader's patience', J. C. Wordsworth, "The *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius" in *Adventures in Literature* (London: 1929), 160 'tedious . . . not a touch of poetry', T. Means, "Incidental Observations on the *Argonautica* and *Post Homerica*," *Classical Journal* 46 (1950–51), 335 'about as lively as . . . the Congressional Record'.

[91] Cf. Hunter (1993), 36–37, who feels that the inclusion of games would have been out of keeping with the themes of the *Argonautica*. There are allusions to Homeric games after the battle at Cyzicus and in Jason's *aristeia* in Book 3; cf. pp. 92, 109. Not surprisingly, Pindar mentions these games on Lemnos (P. 4.253, O. 4.23–31); Jackson (1993), 70–73 suggests they are omitted because Apollonius wishes to eliminate conflict of all kind from the Lemnos episode.

once criticised as superfluous, but it has an extra function, as an instance of this Homeric structural device.[92] More subtly, in both *Odyssey* and *Argonautica*, a parallel is drawn between the stay with the Phaeacians and the eventual return home, though this is achieved by different means. Apollonius creates pairs of characters, such as the two prophets Idmon and Mopsus, the two steersmen Tiphys and Ancaeus, or Hypsipyle and Medea, who in some ways behave like a Homeric pair, Circe and Calypso in the *Odyssey*;[93] however, these pairs are not of the type discussed by Fenik, where the two characters appear in quick succession and could have been combined.

e) *Relationships between Characters*

As well as comparing characters to those in Homer by recalling specific scenes in which they appear, Apollonius' use of allusion makes more general large-scale comparisons between his characters and Homer's, often by using words or formulae associated with a particular figure in Homer. For example, the appearance of two *hapax legomena* in the scene on Scheria which Homer uses of Helen highlights the parallel of Medea's situation at this point to Helen's in the *Iliad*.[94] An implicit similarity between several characters may be suggested by describing them all in terms of the same Homeric character; thus Aeetes, Amycus, Heracles and Talos all resemble the Cyclops Polyphemus. All these characters exemplify brute force and power, in most cases defeated by cunning.[95]

Naturally, the large number of Homeric models used in all the scenes in which a character appears means that aspects of many Homeric figures contribute to characters in Apollonius. In his first important scene, Jason recalls two characters in the last book of the *Iliad*, Priam and Achilles;[96] later his main model is Odysseus, leading

[92] On Homer's doublets, cf. B. Fenik, *Studies in the Odyssey* (Wiesbaden: 1974) 131–232; he discusses doublets of scenes on 133–42. In Apollonius a minor scene does not necessarily always precede a more important one.

[93] Cf. E. Phinney, *Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Berkeley: 1963) 91–92.

[94] Cf. p. 255; there is a more specific resemblance to the pact in *Iliad* 3 concerning the handing over of Helen, though one of the *hapax legomena* concerned does not come from that book.

[95] Cf. A. R. Rose, "Three Narrative Themes in Apollonios' Bebrykian Episode (Argonautika 2, 1–163)," *Wiener Studien* n.f. 18 (1984), 122–30.

[96] Like Priam, Jason insists on making a dangerous journey and will not allow a

his men through a dangerous voyage. He also recalls Agamemnon (the testing of his men in Book 2), Achilles (the *aristeia* at the end of Book 3) and other figures. At different times Medea recalls Nausicaa, Circe, Penelope and Helen. The position is made still more complex by the reader's memory of Jason and Medea as they appear in Euripides' *Medea*. This technique can also be found in Callimachus and has been studied in Virgil.[97]

It is not just the main characters, or those such as Phineus who dominate an episode, who are associated with particular Homeric figures, although obviously in their cases a pattern of allusions can be developed more extensively. Many Argonauts only perform a couple of actions in the course of the poem, but their appearances are always carefully placed; and here too reference to Homer can explain why they are deployed at particular points.[98]

In a few cases Apollonius can introduce characters from Homer directly, although the *Argonautica* is set a generation earlier in mythological time than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. This can be done with immortals such as the Olympian gods and Circe, and some mortals such as the young and childless Arete and Alcinous. Achilles also appears, as an infant (1.557–58);[99] his presence brings the *Argonautica* closer to the world of Homeric epic, and his farewell to his father prefigures his concern for the aged Peleus in the *Iliad*.

f) *'Homeric Time' and Focalisation*

The appearance of Homeric characters in their youth and infancy and the fathers of many of the heroes of the Trojan War emphasises a paradox which underlies the whole epic; although Apollonius is dependent on Homer for his literary tradition, he is describing events which take place in mythological time earlier than those described in

---

woman to hold him back; his words of consolation to his mother resemble those of Achilles to Priam (1.295–305, cf. Il. 24.218–27, 518–51). He also recalls Odysseus' meeting with his mother (1.286/Od. 11.202).

[97] On the combination of Odysseus and Telemachus in Theseus in the *Hecale*, cf. Newman (1974), 350. For Virgil, cf. Knauer (1964), index s.v. *'Kontaminationen'-Vereinigung*, Lyne (1987), 104–114.

[98] As with the appearance of Aethalides in the Lemnos episode (cf. pp. 164–65).

[99] The closest Iliadic parallel for this scene is perhaps the meeting of Hector and his son Astyanax (*Iliad* 6), which is also a farewell. Like Astyanax, Achilles is doomed to an early death at Troy.

Homer. This interest in the 'pre-Homeric generation' is shared by the other Alexandrians, as can be seen, for example, in the young Teiresias in Callimachus' fifth Hymn and the young Polyphemus in Theocritus' sixth and eleventh *Idylls*, which also allude to the future of those characters in Homer. However, it contrasts with other epics which continued Homer or filled gaps in his narrative.[100] The *Argonautica* is thus both 'before' and 'after' Homer.

Despite the numerous references to later events, there is no explicit mention of any event which is narrated in the course of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Apollonius rejects one obvious way of emphasising the relative chronology of his work and Homer's, to introduce another, more radical, one. In several places he breaks the illusion of mythical time and substitutes 'literary' time; for example, at 4.661 there is a reference to the temporal priority of the *Odyssey* to the *Argonautica*, in the 'renowned' harbour of Aeaea, renowned because it has been already mentioned in the *Odyssey*.[101] This resembles the 'reflexive allusions' characteristic of Ovid,[102] which draw attention to the poet's artifice. This self-conscious, metaliterary device seems characteristically Alexandrian, but it can be found in earlier poetry. Already in Homer adjectives such as κλυτός 'renowned' may refer to the rôle of Homer's own poetry and, more debatably, knowledge of the *Iliad* has been claimed for the *Odyssey*;[103] Odysseus in Euripides' *Cyclops* also appears to know the *Odyssey*![104]

While most studies of allusion see it from the point of view of the reader, who is expected to recognise allusions and use them to inform a reading of the poem, it is also possible in some cases to see allusions from the point of view of the characters. One Homeric device which Apollonius adopts and incorporates into his technique of allusion is that of focalisation, in which events are described as they would appear to a character.[105] Apollonius uses 'embedded

---

[100] On literature which fills in chronological gaps in earlier literature, cf. G. Genette, *Palimpsestes: Le Littérature au second degré* (Paris: 1982) 202–4.

[101] Cf. p. 195. On the use of such words as κλυτός within the poem to refer to Apollonius' own skills, cf. S. Goldhill, *The Poet's Voice: Essays on Poetics and Greek Literature* (Cambridge: 1991) 295.

[102] Cf. Conte (1986), 60–63, (on Fasti 3.469–75, in a speech). There are many other examples in Ovid.

[103] Cf. n. 11 above, and Stanford on Od. 9.308, J. Griffin "Homer and Excess" in *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry*, J. M. Bremer, I. de Jong, J. Kalff, eds. (Amsterdam: 1987) 102. References to the *Iliad* in the *Odyssey* do not involve the paradox of 'literary' time being different from the 'mythological' time in which the poems are set.

[104] Cf. Seaford on E. Cyc. 460–61, 591–92.

[105] For a thorough discussion of this device in the *Iliad*, cf. I. J. F. de Jong,

focalisation' in his narrative, perhaps most obviously in scenes such as the passage of the Wandering Rocks which are described as they would appear to one of the Argonauts. At certain points, characters in the *Argonautica* show and use awareness of events which are recorded in Homer, for example in the meeting of the three goddesses which opens Book 3 (cf. p. 294), in which the goddesses make veiled references to the affair of Ares and Aphrodite of which Demodocus sings in *Odyssey* 8, which they, as well as the reader, are expected to recognise. The allusion is 'focalised' in the same way as events in the narrative of a poem can be 'focalised' from the point of view of someone within the poem.

Now that some criteria for establishing how Apollonius recalls Homer have been defined, it remains to describe how references to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, separately and together, are integrated into the structure of the *Argonautica*. The plot of the epic, centring on a sea voyage, resembles more that of the *Odyssey* than that of the *Iliad*, and in particular the first half of the *Odyssey*. Moreover, there is an overlap of material, since some of Odysseus' adventures may have been originally part of the Argo legend and were associated with it by Homer (in the case of the Wandering Rocks) and by Apollonius' other sources. However, there are many opportunities to introduce Iliadic material. On a general level, the phraseology of the poem draws heavily on the *Iliad*. Many extended similes (a device more characteristic of the *Iliad* than of the *Odyssey*) are based on Iliadic models. The 'set-pieces' of the Catalogue and Jason's cloak derive from *Iliad* 2 and *Iliad* 18 respectively. The instances of 'typical scenes' discussed above often have Iliadic models. Several scenes, especially those involving the gods, closely recall scenes in the *Iliad*.[106] The Argonauts as a group are more like the Greek or Trojan army than Odysseus' fellow sailors, since the party consists of named and characterised men, some with specific skilled rôles such as navigator, musician and seer, rather than a (mostly) nameless group.[107]

Narrators and Focalizers: the Presentation of the Story in the Iliad (Amsterdam: 1987) ch. 4.

[106] For example the boxing match and *Iliad* 23, and the Olympian scene in Book 4 and *Iliad* 24 (pp. 63–66, 296–300). Others which could be added include the testing of the crew (2.620–49) and *Iliad* 2, the volunteering of the Argonauts (3.504–20) and *Iliad* 7.

[107] In the *Odyssey* only a few of Odysseus' men are named; on the individuality of Eurylochus and Elpenor, cf. G. Strasburger, *Die kleinen Kämpfer der Ilias* (Diss. Frankfurt: 1954) 110–14.

It is not possible to separate the *Argonautica* into 'Odyssean' and 'Iliadic' halves as has been done with the *Aeneid* from at least the time of Servius.[108] Analysed in these broad terms, the poem would be entirely Odyssean, but even the most 'Odyssean' section (the central part of Book 4) contains a scene closely based on *Iliad* 24. Like Virgil, Apollonius feels free to move from the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey* or to combine the two as models at any point.

Given the similarity of subject matter of the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica*, it is not important to appeal, as Cairns does,[109] to the *Odyssey*'s 'episodic and folkloristic' aspects as the source of its attraction for Apollonius, though he does reproduce these features. The importance of the *Odyssey* for Apollonius goes beyond features of content, structure and style which appealed to him; it supplies themes, characters and narrative patterns to be exploited. Like the *Odyssey*, the *Argonautica* is a *nostos* poem, since the main concern of Jason and the other Argonauts is securing their return rather than capturing the fleece,[110] and like the *Odyssey* it explores the theme of hospitality and its abuses.

The structure of the *Argonautica* is influenced by its nature as a continuous experiment in different types of adaptation of Homer. Even the occurrence of Homeric vocabulary and similes, which may on a casual inspection appear to be evenly distributed, is in fact varied. Though one can find Homeric imitation all through the *Argonautica*, allusions to and echoes of Homer seem especially concentrated at crucial points in the plot, such as the Olympian scene at the beginning of Book 3, the *aristeia* of Jason at the end of Book 3, and the wedding of Jason and Medea in Book 4.

The poem begins with a series of passages which are each in their own way typically 'epic'. A proem is followed by a long catalogue, a farewell scene, a sacrifice and feast, an embarkation and, a little later, an ecphrasis. These passages contain un-Homeric features and details, but the effect of the sequence is to present a series of scenes

---

[108] On Virgil, Aen. 7.1. This bipartite division of the *Aeneid* is of course an oversimplification (cf. Knauer (1964), 225, W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford: 1969) 51–54, Cairns, (1989), 177–79). Cairns believes that the *Aeneid*, like the *Argonautica*, relies chiefly on the *Odyssey*.

[109] Cf. Cairns (1989), 179.

[110] 1.449, 2.411–18, 2.689–91, 2.862–63, 3.173–75, 3.487–88. On the circular *nostos* in the poem, cf. R. J. Clare, *Aspects of Space and Movement in the Odyssey of Homer and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Cambridge: 1993) ch. 13.

which are characteristic of Homeric epic in quick succession, establishing the lineage of the poem at the outset.[111] Yet the piling up of conventional scenes to this extent itself suggests the poet's consciousness of their artificiality; they are a prelude to the subsequent exploration and variation of Homeric models. The move from the conventional to the less conventional need not be the result of a change in Apollonius' approach as he progressed in writing the poem,[112] but is better understood as a programmatic device, showing how the poet breaks rigid traditions by first incorporating and illustrating those traditions within the poem. Later in Book 1 this is demonstrated by Apollonius' manipulation of his sources in the episodes set on Lemnos and at Cyzicus, and in the loss of Hylas.

Book 2 opens with the combat against the Bebryces, which falls into two sections, the boxing match on a small scale and the battle on a larger one, each recalling Homeric examples of that type of scene. The book is divided by the common feature of all accounts of the Argo's voyage, the Clashing Rocks or Symplegades. This is preceded by the guidance of Phineus; his rôle as guide corresponds to that of Circe in the *Odyssey*, but the route he describes moves from the Odyssean (the Symplegades, recalling Homer's Wandering Rocks) to the non-Odyssean (the various races inhabiting the coastline beyond the Symplegades), ending with the island of Ares. Like the scenes at the beginning of Book 2, the shipwreck of the sons of Phrixus also combines details of several Homeric scenes; the following scene, in which they meet the Argonauts, recalls another of Odysseus' encounters on his travels, his encounter with the Cyclops.[113] Book 2 is thus framed by two episodes which each explore Homeric conventions as well as specific scenes.

Book 3 is similarly framed by two scenes which each represent a type of scene common in the *Iliad*, a scene on Olympus and a battle; both use specific passages from several books in Homer, with no one scene prevailing, but introduce new characters with no Homeric

---

[111] On the conventionality of the opening scenes, cf. L. Nyberg, *Unity and Coherence: Studies in Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica and the Alexandrian Epic Tradition* (Lund: 1992) 113.

[112] This is suggested by M. Fantuzzi, *Ricerche su Apollonio Rodio: diacronie della dizione epica* (Rome: 1988) 120; M. G. Ciani, "Poesia come enigma," in *Scritti in onore di Carlo Diano* (Bologna: 1975) 108–9, believes that Apollonius moves gradually away from Homeric diction and content, perfecting his technique of allusion as he progresses.

[113] Cf. pp. 73–76, 133–36.

precedent (Eros and the Earthborn). The two scenes are linked, since the help which Hera and Athena obtain for Jason is required for his *aristeia* at the end of the book. The central part of the book, in which Medea's help for Jason is ensured, has often been seen as the most innovative part of the poem, yet it draws heavily in structure and detail on the *Odyssey*.[114]

Not until Book 4 do we get the most explicit introduction of Homeric material, the successive appearance of some of the most famous characters and places in the *Odyssey*. Although the tradition probably located these, as Apollonius does, on the return journey, their position late in the poem is important in the developing relationship between the *Argonautica* and the two Homeric epics. Only after the reader has become familiar with Apollonius' ways of adapting and recalling Homer, and with the challenge of trying to identify Apollonius' sources, is the most obvious and direct use made of Homeric material. The overlap of subject matter is reinforced with verbal parallels, shared similes and allusion to details in the Odyssean originals, yet the Odyssean pattern breaks down as the outcome of each scene differs from that in Homer. The 'Odyssean' scenes in Book 4 exemplify the approach to Homer of the whole epic; they present familiar material and encourage comparison, but make something new out of it. However, the episodes after Drepane are not extensively similar to Homeric scenes;[115] the Homeric model fades and the poem closes.

One of the most significant patterns of Homeric references which is traceable through the poem ties together allusions to *Odyssey* 5–12; these culminate in the 'Odyssean' series of adventures in Book 4 discussed above. The importance of the wanderings of Odysseus as a structural basis for the *Argonautica* cannot be overestimated. Each stage of the wanderings is recalled at some point by similarities of situation and/or verbal parallels, or even directly, and several of these episodes of the *Odyssey* influence more than one scene in Apollonius.

Odysseus' opening adventure, the short episode of the Cicones, is recalled in the pursuit by Colchians in Book 4, especially the simile of the leaves; both passages come at the start of the voyage home. The Lotus Eaters can be paralleled in the sojourn in Libya. These

---

[114] Cf. pp. 136–37, 181–83, 232–42.

[115] Though Talos resembles the Cyclops and the Libyan episode recalls the Sirens and Lotus Eaters.

two resemblances are less strong than the others, but as Odysseus moves further away from the Greek world, the influence of his adventures on the *Argonautica* becomes more powerful. The Cyclops episode is frequently used: in the Hylas episode in Book 1, the boxing match and the meeting with Phrixus' sons in Book 2, the behaviour of Aeetes in Book 3, and the Talos episode in Book 4.

Aeolus is visited by Iris, though not by the Argonauts, and helps in the middle of the 'Odyssean' section in Book 4. The motif of the 'unexpected return' and hostility to those who return is transferred from Aeolus both to the Argonauts' return to Cyzicus in Book 1 and to their meeting with the sons of Phrixus with Aeetes in Book 3. Events in the Cyzicus episode, with rock-throwing giants and spring Artacie, owe much to the Laestrygonians of *Odyssey* 10; although the relationship of these myths remains confused, the connexion between Cyzicus and the Laestrygonians was recognised already in Apollonius' time. Odysseus' next adventure, on Circe's island, is the first of several which are directly 'repeated' in the *Argonautica*, and also contributes to other scenes, notably the Lemnos episode in Book 1, the Phineus episode in Book 2, and much of Book 3.

The visit to Circe is the first of a series of places from *Odyssey* 12 which reappear in the same order as in Homer; the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis (in passing), the Wandering Rocks and the Cattle of the Sun. These Homeric scenes also influence other parts of the *Argonautica*.[116] As with the narrative of the *Odyssey*, though not with Odysseus' own story, where the stay with Calypso intervenes, these last scenes are juxtaposed with the stay among the Phaeacians, who in Apollonius are visited immediately after the Cattle of the Sun. The stay with the Phaeacians, especially *Odyssey* 6–7, is also an important (and very obvious) model for Book 3. Calypso herself is not omitted, but is briefly mentioned at 4.574–75, though she does not appear directly; this reference signals that Odyssean territory lies ahead. Calypso's character also influences that of Hypsipyle in Book 1, as she reluctantly lets Jason go after their love affair.

Apollonius carefully incorporates almost all the wanderings of Odysseus, and echoes of Odysseus' adventures permeate each book, especially the stay on Colchis, the most developed episode. There are also similarities in the order and juxtaposition of episodes, for

---

[116] Wandering Rocks/Symplegades in Book 2, Sirens/Libyan heroines (4.1319–21). Cf. pp. 42, 204.

example in the sequence from Circe to Drepane in Book 4 which repeats that in the *Odyssey*, the juxtaposition of 'Laestrygonian' and 'Aeolus' material in Book 1 and the placing of a passage resembling the Lotus Eaters directly after a storm.

One incident only from Odysseus' voyage is omitted, the journey to Hades. There is no clear evidence of a tradition of a visit to Hades by the Argonauts, though it has been conjectured that some early accounts of the voyage included a *katabasis*.[117] Apollonius could have used the material as the foundation of an episode set elsewhere, as he does with other episodes not directly repeated. Instead, there are some allusions to well-known passages in the Odyssean *Nekuia* (cf. pp. 164–67 on two scenes on the cloak, and the similarity between Aethalides and Teiresias), a ritual which recalls the one Odysseus performs to summon the shades, and sections imbued with chthonic colouring[118] in the second half of Book 2 after the passage of the Symplegades, and in the North African section in Book 4 (both parts of the poem where the influence of Homer is generally less strong).

The omission of an episode based on the events of *Odyssey* 11 can be explained in various ways. If the whole voyage is seen as a kind of *katabasis*, an explicit account of the underworld might have seemed unnecessary,[119] since the world of the chthonic now encompasses the entire epic. The absence is in keeping with the theology of the poem, since it removes an opportunity for contact with the world of the supernatural. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it may have been

---

[117] Cf. K. Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautika* (Utrecht: 1974) 114–15. G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (London 1969) 67 infers a scene of necromancy from the shaky basis of a conversation between Medea and Idmon in Eumelus; M. L. West on Hes. Th. 523–33 suggests that Prometheus may have featured in such an episode. S. Jackson, *Creative Selectivity in Apollonius' Argonautica* (Amsterdam: 1993) 1–2, shares my scepticism about this interpretation of Eumelus.

[118] On the 'chthonic' parts of the *Argonautica*, cf. D. P. Nelis, *The Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Belfast: 1988) 172–98; on the section after the Symplegades cf. p. 175, D. Feeney, "Following after Hercules in Virgil and Apollonius," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 18 (1986), 59, on the Syrtis and Libya, cf. Hunter (1993), 30–31. Cf. also Theseus' whereabouts (1.101–4), Alcimede's farewell (1.286/Od. 11.202), some scenes on Jason's cloak (pp. 165–67), the ritual Jason performs before his *aristeia* (3.1029–41, 3.1207–12; pp. 182–83), and the Argonauts' belief that they may be in Hades (4.1699). The possibility of sailing to Hades is entertained by Jason and Hera respectively at 2.642–43 and 3.61–62. C. M. Dufner, *The Odyssey in the Argonautica: Reminiscence, Revision, Reconstruction* (Diss. Princeton: 1988) 179–81, suggests that the equivalent to Hades in the *Argonautica* is the Eridanus.

[119] Cf. Nelis (1988), 198 n. 94, Hunter (1993), 184.

important to Apollonius to leave one of Odysseus' adventures out of his plan, thereby demonstrating his independence of an obligation to follow Homer. This in turn suggests a more general principle: that Hellenistic poets, who delight in confounding the reader's expectations, need not slavishly follow rigid schemes of the kind which some critics would like to impose on their work. Nevertheless, it can still be useful to analyse their poetry in terms of such schemes, provided that this does not lead to far-fetched interpretations of particular passages, distorted in order to complete the pattern. It is only by setting up a framework of episodes based on Odysseus' adventures that Apollonius can surprise the reader by leaving one of them out. This use of surprise can also be found on a smaller scale in particular instances where events do not take the turn which one might expect on the basis of Homer. The passage of Acheron (2.901–3) is one of several points where Apollonius leads readers to suppose that he will follow Homer closely (in this case by including Hades) but does not. Other examples occur with the Cattle of the Sun, Circe and Calypso.[120]

It was once fashionable to criticise the *Argonautica* for its lack of internal unity and its 'episodic' nature, claiming that the voyage of the Argo is not sufficient as a theme to unify the discrete adventures out of which the plot is constructed. One assumption behind this view is that the episodes have little in common apart from the Argonauts' appearance in them.[121] Those who have defended the poem's unity have done so by finding some general link running through the four books which must be 'deduced' from the apparently disjointed narrative or themes and motifs which recur through the poem.[122] Another way of achieving the same effect is by shared resemblances to Homer (such as Jason's similarity to Odysseus or Achilles) in widely

---

[120] pp. 189–90, 219, 220–22.

[121] Cf. H. Herter, "Bericht über die Literatur zur Hellenistischen Dichtung seit dem Jahre 1921 II: Apollonios von Rhodos," *Bursians Jahresbericht* 285 (1944/55), 213–410.

[122] For example, Carspecken (1952), 110–25 finds a didactic message in the poem on the merits of co-operation, with some individuals representing moral types, while Margolies (1981), 3–6 claims it is a poem about poetry, and in particular about the tension between Callimachean theory and traditional epic. On structuring themes, cf. for example A. R. Rose (1984) on the 'hospitality', 'duel' and 'group combat' themes, and Newman (1986), 74–92, especially on colour and astronomical images. Nyberg (1992) explores some unifying themes, though he adds no new ones.

separated parts of the poem, or by imitating the same Homeric scene or passage more than once, as happens with Homer's Circe, Cyclops, Wandering Rocks and similes such as Il. 15.624–29.

Allusion to specific passages in Homer does not just draw attention to similarities but implies differences in situation or characterisation.[123] This is the equivalent on a larger scale of *variatio* on the verbal level. Without such differences the *Argonautica* would be no more than a *cento* of Homer in its characters and situations. For example, Medea may resemble Nausicaa in some ways but she differs greatly in others, both in her character and in the future course of the relationship with the man she meets.

Overall, the poem is also more self-conscious of the tradition in which it lies, something shown in a variety of contexts in the introduction of 'literary time' and the occasional exaggeration of generic traits, as in the battle scenes. This self-consciousness is characteristic of Alexandrian poetry;[124] Apollonius can thus be characteristically 'Alexandrian' in the very act of echoing Homer. The exploitation of difference is nowhere more obvious than in the central 'Odyssean' scenes of Book 4, as the outcome of each scene differs from its Homeric predecessor.

Many of the same techniques have been studied and conclusions have been reached in the study of allusion in later poets, notably Virgil.[125] Virgil's way of alluding verbally to Homer necessarily differs from Apollonius' since the difference of language adds further levels of complexity, but both poets use allusion to hint at characters' thoughts, the morality of their actions and the mood of a scene. Like Apollonius, Virgil and after him Ovid introduce Odyssean 'dangers', but treat them differently from both Apollonius and Homer, and they too re-use the same models at different points.[126] Apollonius

---

[123] On this technique in the *Aeneid*, cf. Lyne (1987), 102–14.

[124] Cf. Hopkinson (1988), 8.

[125] On the way Apollonius anticipates Virgil, cf. J. W. Shumaker, *Homeric Transformations in the Argonautica of Apollonius of Rhodes* (Diss. Pennsylvania: 1969) 141–54. Nelis (1988) examines how Virgil alludes to Apollonius, often using the same techniques which Apollonius had already used in alluding to Homer.

[126] Scylla/Charybdis, Cyclops, Aen. 3.548–691, Sirens, Aen. 5.864–66, Circe Aen. 7.10–24; note the separation and the order. Ovid: Medea describes the Rocks and Scylla/Charybdis (Met. 7.62–65), also Sirens (Met. 5.551–63), Circe (Met. 13.968–14.415), Cyclops (Met. 13.738–899, 14.167–220), Scylla (Met. 13.730–14.74), Phaeacians (Met. 13.719–20). On repeated use of the same Homeric scene in Virgil, cf. Knauer (1964), 336.

himself becomes a model for Virgil in the *Aeneid*, both in detailed allusions and in structure and characterisation (for example, Dido combines aspects of Hypsipyle and Medea); thus the relationship of the *Aeneid* to the *Argonautica* resembles that of the *Argonautica* to Homer. Detailed study of the *Argonautica* demonstrates the Alexandrian basis for Virgil's approach to Homer, but it would be wrong to think that Apollonius was alone among poets of his time in exploring different ways of using the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; some of his techniques which are shared with other Alexandrian poets have already been noted.

The complexity of the poetic technique of the *Argonautica* not only sheds light on Apollonius' relationship to other Alexandrian and later poets, but reflects levels of meaning in the Homeric epics which are only now coming to light. To re-evaluate Apollonius' relationship to Homer requires not only detailed consideration of the *Argonautica* itself but also an awareness of recent developments in Homeric criticism.

The recognition by Parry of the oral basis of Homeric poetry revolutionised Homeric studies, as stylistic features such as formularity and repetition were understood as an essential part of Homeric poetic technique, rather than as a weakness or evidence of interpolation. However, in their eagerness to contrast Homeric epic with the polished, literary creations of Apollonius and Virgil and to emphasise the distinctive processes involved in oral composition, some critics eschewed any attempt to find complex structure, self-citation or development of themes or characters in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The Homeric epics escaped dismemberment by Analysts only to be flattened by disciples of Parry who wanted to deny them certain kinds of depth.[127]

Inevitably, this trend affected views of Apollonius' relationship with Homer; comparisons of the two poets emphasised the difference between Homeric naivety and Apollonian sophistication. The renewal of interest in Hellenistic poetry, which concentrated at first on its erudition, has only widened the perceived gulf between the approach of the two poets to the composition of epic. The *Argonautica*, too, has in the past been found wanting in structure and without satisfactory

[127] For similar accounts of Homeric scholarship, cf. N. Austin, *Archery at the Dark of the Moon: Poetic Problems in Homer's Odyssey* (Berkeley: 1975) 3–4, P. Vivante, *The Epithets in Homer* (New Haven: 1982), 164–75, J. P. Holoka, "Homer, Oral Poetry Theory, and Comparative Literature," in *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung: Rückblick und Ausblick*, ed. J. Latacz (Stuttgart: 1991) 456–81; Holoka discusses 'hard' Parryism on pp. 459–60 and 469 and the various revisions of it on pp. 470–73.

development of character;[128] though of course these supposed traits have been blamed on Apollonius' inadequacy as a poet, rather than on the constraints imposed by oral compositional techniques. Recent criticism has been more generous to the poem, recognising underlying themes and structural features, and taking account of 'internal' allusions within it.

In the meantime, advances in the study of oral poetry have allowed the insights of scholars with different approaches from Parry's (such as Arend and the 'neo-analysts', or oralists expert in other literatures[129]) to be incorporated into readings of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It has now become acceptable to find significance in narrative structure, repeated passages, similar scenes and apparently otiose epithets in Homer, and to allow widely separated parts of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* to be interpreted in the light of one another. This development has come about partly because it is uncertain in what sense the Homeric epics may be called 'oral'; and study of a larger number of oral traditions has shown that they can be capable of a greater flexibility and complexity than Parry was prepared to allow them. Perhaps most importantly, though, if we restrict Homer to a narrow range of poetic devices we must deny the existence of much that has fascinated readers over the centuries. As one scholar has recently written of the *Iliad*, 'each part . . . is enriched by its placing within the whole, and by the way it interacts with other parts both near and distant'.[130] This is not to deny the oral features of the Homeric epics, but to recognise that repeated elements, from small-scale repetitions of a phrase or a few lines to the 'typical scenes', narrative patterns and doublets of characters, can be used to ensure a structural unity and to point out contrasts or similarities in different persons and situations.

This trend in Homeric criticism should in turn inform study of the *Argonautica*. The *Argonautica* is not so much stylistically opposed to its Homeric models as a development of them. Many of the ways of

---

[128] Cf., for example, Mackail (1910), 248, A. Couat, trans J. Loeb, *Alexandrian Poetry under the First 3 Ptolemies (324–222 B.C.)* (London: 1931) 320–28.

[129] For a survey of neoanalysis, cf. W. Kullman, "Oral Poetry Theory and Neoanalysis in Homeric Research," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 25 (1984), 307–323. For a discussion of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the light of a range of other epic traditions, R. Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge: 1977) 69–87.

[130] Taplin (1992), 11. Vivante (1982), D. Shive, *Naming Achilles* (New York: 1987), and A. Kanahe, *The Interpretation of Order* (Oxford: 1994) argue against the view that Homeric epithets and repeated phrases are idle.

achieving organic unity found in each of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, whose study we have still far from exhausted, were recognised and copied by Apollonius. Some unifying features found in both poets are the scattered references to earlier and later events,[131] the use of character 'doublets', the linking of two episodes by similar or identical passages and the deployment of sequences of similes on similar themes.[132] When seen in this light, the success of the *Argonautica* in renewing epic can be seen to rest in the way it synthesises some Homeric techniques with the characteristics of the Alexandrian school. At the same time, the unity of the *Argonautica* is not only achieved by a style which derives from the Homeric epics, but cannot be understood apart from them, in that a reading of Apollonius' poem is inadequate without study of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Apollonius skilfully takes over deeper aspects of Homeric technique while discarding some of the superficially more obvious ones such as formulae.

Apollonius' creative reading of Homer and appropriation of Homeric devices as a poet is connected to his reading of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as a scholar. It has long been known that Apollonius used contemporary scholarship on Homer, as well as contributing some himself.[133] The failure of the scholiasts to appreciate structural parallels and thematic unity in Homer does not mean that all ancient readers were so insensitive. While Apollonius may not have been consciously aware of all these aspects of Homeric poetics, his imitation of them is valuable evidence for one way in which Homer was read in antiquity, even though by someone considerably removed in time and culture from Homer's original audience. Our understanding of these Homeric devices is still increasing; just as Apollonius made use of contemporary criticism of Homer in writing the *Argonautica*, so the modern reader gains by drawing on the insights of present-day Homeric scholarship when reading it.

We can go even further and say that the *Argonautica* itself is a work of scholarship on Homer, not just because it enshrines interpretations of particular Homeric passages but because it shows how Homer may be read. The representation of kinds of 'typical scenes' by one

[131] These references are collected by G. E. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius and Vergil* (Princeton: 1933); for further discussion of them in Homer, cf. Taplin (1992), 83–109, in Apollonius, Fusillo (1985), 24–158.

[132] Other specific examples: the hospitality theme prominent in both *Odyssey* and *Argonautica*, and Apollonius' awareness of the 'typical scene'.

[133] Cf. Merkel and Erbse, cited above, nn. 59–60.

example of each demonstrates that Apollonius was aware of the narrative usefulness of such scenes in Homer. The dissection of those Homeric episodes which are used more than once in the *Argonautica*, by using different aspects of them each time, explores various ways of reading the original model. Apollonius' imitation of the content and use of similes, both individually and in series, shows his understanding of Homeric technique in this area. However, it would not do justice to the *Argonautica* to assume that all such adaptations must be understood as simple borrowings, to be interpreted only in the same way as equivalent passages in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. For example, the closeness of the sacrifice in Book 1 to its Homeric models can be seen as a programmatic statement about the *Argonautica*'s relationship to Homer, while the echoes of the Phaeacian episode of the *Odyssey* in Books 3 and 4 show the differences between the characters in the poem and their Homeric predecessors.[134]

What distinguishes the *Argonautica* from a poem which slavishly reproduces Homeric style, a poem which it easily could have been, are the divergences from Homer's practice, especially in its dense, non-formulaic language. Other innovations such as the use of *aitia* and the personal interjections by the poet have been amply discussed in the secondary literature. It is precisely because the *Argonautica* is so obviously not meant to be a close imitation of Homeric epic that its resemblance to Homer in structure, style and detail can be read as an interpretation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. On this view, Apollonius' epic is not purely an attempt to write a new kind of epic, but the applying of an Alexandrian sensibility to some of the deeper unifying techniques which can be seen in Homer. This aspect of his technique also bears on the worth of the *Argonautica* in itself, independently of its relationship to its models.

Allusions will only be helpful to the reader if they can be related to wider concerns in the poem; they may make the reader more aware of underlying themes as well as enhancing a particular point in the narrative, as in the case of some of the references to Odysseus' wanderings mentioned above. The rôle of allusion in the choice and arrangement of episodes and in defining their detail should not obscure the way those episodes also relate to the rest of the poem in theme and symbolism, or their relationship to Homer in less specific

---

[134] Hunter (1993), 103 emphasises the difference between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the image of those poems which is constructed in the *Argonautica*.

ways. Indeed, one of the uses of allusion is to draw different parts of the epic together, for example by linking the various figures who resemble the same Homeric character.

The examples of potential allusions which I have suggested are not only strong in verbal or other similarities to Homer but also consistent with and helpful to my reading of the *Argonautica*; indeed, often they have helped to suggest a suitable interpretation of a particular passage. The device is, however, ambiguous and open-ended since readers may disagree over what they find enlightening. There is a core of allusions which have been noted by commentators since antiquity and are undisputed, surrounded by a grey area of more controversial examples. It will never be decided exactly which ones were important to the poet; the best any one interpreter can do is to note those which have proved helpful to a personal reading and to make a case for them. Allusion, as a device, both controls and frees the reader. It controls by pointing towards certain defined sources for the passage under consideration; but the reader is then free to decide when such a link is significant and how to evaluate it. It also makes demands, requiring active co-operation rather than a passive absorption of the narrative as it flows along.

The contribution of these studies, then, is to show in detail how allusion to Homer can work in the *Argonautica* by considering certain kinds of example, and how Apollonius uses devices which are themselves Homeric to unify his epic. They certainly do not exhaust the possibilities of this approach to the *Argonautica*. In showing the various ways in which Apollonius exploits the reader's knowledge of Homer and how they interact, my aim has been to illuminate a part of this subject and to suggest further areas which may be explored.

A Test Case: The Symplegades

The passage of the Symplegades or Clashing Rocks is an appropriate illustration of the types of allusion which will be considered in later chapters. It is the common feature of all accounts of the Argo's voyage, emblematic of the whole expedition,[135] and is emphasised at the outset by being the only incident on the voyage to be mentioned

[135] Cf. their prominent position at Pi. P. 4.208–11, E. Med. 2.

in the proem (1.2–3). Later it is predicted in detail by Phineus (2.317–45). The Argonauts' encounter with the Rocks is vivid and dramatic; it is further enhanced by being likened to several of the dangers which Odysseus has to face on his travels, and it is the first of the occasions where a major Olympian intervenes.

The Homeric Wandering Rocks are the main model for both the Symplegades and the Wandering Rocks in *Argonautica* 4. However, the passage of the Symplegades, the moment of transition on the outward voyage,[136] also incorporates other adventures of Odysseus, as well as echoes of the *Iliad* and of Hesiod. Even before the episode begins, Apollonius has already established the relationship to *Odyssey* 12, a technique he uses elsewhere as one way of foreshadowing later events. This has been done in the long speech of guidance by Phineus which is the counterpart to Circe's directions to Odysseus in *Odyssey* 12 (cf. pp. 172–75). As the crew hear the rocks, their feelings are similar to those of Odysseus' men (2.552–54, Od. 12.202–5, cf. 2.595–97 (p. 47)).[137]

Though both crews are afraid, the Argonauts row on, whereas Odysseus' men drop their oars in terror. In Apollonius the motif of the ship being held motionless in the face of danger is postponed until later in the scene (2.597, cf. Od. 12.204–5); as in Homer, it follows a mention of loud noise, with ῥόος 'current' in the same position before a pause. The Argonauts are apparently braver than Odysseus' men, but their determination to press on also cuts out a Homeric scene which would be unnecessary here; the pause allows Odysseus to give instructions about what to do next, whereas the Argonauts have already been prepared by Phineus and need no further guidance.

Homer says only a little about the Wandering Rocks, and Apollonius saves much of it for the passing of his own Wandering Rocks in Book 4, enriching his account of the Symplegades instead with material taken from descriptions of other Odyssean dangers. Instead of the Rocks, Odysseus faces Scylla and Charybdis; since the Argonauts

---

[136] J. Lindsay, *The Clashing Rocks* (London: 1965) chs. 1–8 explores the associations of the Clashing Rocks in mythology.

[137] For 2.554, cf. also the approach of the Argonauts to another Homeric danger, the Cattle of the Sun (4.969): μυκηθμός τε <u>βοῶν</u> αὐτοσχεδὸν <u>οὔατ' ἔβαλλε</u> 'from close at hand [they] heard . . . the lowing of cattle'. In this internal allusion Apollonius plays on βόων (from βοᾶν 'shout') and βοῶν (from βοῦς 'cow').

avoid these last, Homer's description of them can be echoed at the Symplegades without much repetition.[138]

As the Argo approaches the Rocks, Euphemus takes up his position ready to release the dove to test whether the ship will be able to pass through, recalling Odysseus' approach to Scylla (2.555–56, Od. 12.228–30) (p. 47). In both passages someone takes something up on to the prow as danger approaches, intending to use it to avoid harm. One of the shared words, πρῴρῃ 'prow', is a *hapax legomenon* in Homer; part of μάρπτω 'seize' is substituted for the less colourful ἑλών 'taking'. Odysseus' intention to fight, against Circe's advice (Od. 12.116–23), contrasts with Euphemus' obedience to the instructions of Phineus (2.328–44), who is the counterpart to Circe in this part of the poem; this contrast is more striking because the dove is useful where force of arms fails. This foreshadows the omen of the dove and hawk (3.540–54), and illustrates the contrast of gentleness and violence throughout the poem.[139]

The echoes of *Odyssey* 12 also refer to Charybdis:

2.569 . . . ὑψόθι δ' ὄχθης
λευκὴ καχλάζοντος ἀνέπτυε κύματος ἄχνη.
(. . . the white foam from the thundering wave was hurled high above the cliffs.)

Od. 12.238 ὑψόσε δ' ἄχνη
ἄκροισι σκοπέλοισιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔπιπτεν.
('. . . and overhead the spray fell down on the tops of the two rocks.')

Another similarity between the passage of the Symplegades and Odysseus' encounters with Scylla and Charybdis is the motif of return to a danger after apparently escaping from it. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus, now alone, is blown back after leaving Helios' island and has to contend with Charybdis (Od. 12.429–46); the Argonauts have passed through the Rocks when they are blown back between them (2.580–96).[140] However, the clearest Odyssean precedent for the danger of being swept back occurs at the end of the Cyclops episode, as Polyphemus hurls a rock after Odysseus which lands in front of his

---

[138] On the allusions to Homer's Wandering Rocks and Scylla and Charybdis in this episode, cf. Nelis (1988), 179–81. For *Odyssey* 5, cf. p. 77 n. 54.

[139] It also looks ahead to the other thing which Euphemus will release from the ship, the clod of earth (4.1755–57). It is not known whether he was responsible for the dove in earlier accounts.

[140] For a discussion of the movement of the waves in this passage, cf. Vian I, 152–53.

ship and forces it backwards (2.575–57, 2.588–91, Od. 9.485–92, cf. Od. 12.206) (pp. 47–48). Two Homeric *hapax legomena* are used from Od. 9.491 and Od. 9.486, δίς 'twice'[141] and πλημυρίς 'surge'. As usual, there is a slight variation of borrowed vocabulary, in this case τόσον/τόσσον, κώπῃσιν/κώπης.

In both scenes the water displaced by the rocks creates a wash which drives the ship backwards. The allusion emphasises the violent motion of the Symplegades, which is stressed throughout the episode and which contrasts with the immobility of Apollonius' Wandering Rocks (cf. pp. 212–14). The echo of Od. 12.206, quoted above, suits the context since it comes as Odysseus and his men come within sight of the Wandering Rocks. Euphemus corresponds to Odysseus; at this point he, rather than Jason, takes charge, since he tests the Rocks by letting the dove fly through them.

The Rocks are also often analysed as an entrance to Hades; although this idea is not stated explicitly in the *Argonautica*, it is suggested by parallels with the *Odyssey*'s Hades episode both in Phineus' instructions and in the Argonauts' reaction to their safe passage (2.609–10).[142] The Argonauts show uncharacteristic perceptiveness in recognising the chthonic aspect of the Rocks which Phineus alludes to in his speech.

The passage of the Symplegades, though brief, recalls Odysseus' adventures with Scylla and Charybdis, with the Cyclops, in Hades and after leaving Calypso as well as the most obvious model, the Wandering Rocks. Its synthesis of allusions to several famous dangers from the *Odyssey* makes it represent all of Odysseus' wanderings, and heightens the tension by implying that the Symplegades are as dangerous as all the Odyssean dangers put together.

The above discussion has left out entirely the crucial factor which enables the Argonauts to pass the Rocks unharmed, the intervention of Athena. Because Odysseus is not aware of any divine aid in the episodes of the *Odyssey* which most resemble the passing of the Rocks, and so cannot describe it to the Phaeacians, Athena's behaviour has no clear precedent in those scenes. Her action draws on other models, taken mainly from the *Iliad*, with no single one predominating.

Though Phineus gives detailed advice on what to do at the Symplegades, he says nothing about any divine help, though he makes pre-

---

[141] Cf. Kumpf (1974), 132–33.

[142] Cf. Nelis (1988), 173–76; the clearest allusion in the speech is νηΐ περῆσαι (2.344, cf. Od. 10.508).

dictions about such help in Colchis (2.420–25). Does Phineus not know of it, or does he keep quiet about Athena's intervention, presumably because he does not wish to repeat his earlier mistake (cf. 2.390–91)? Whether he knows or not, the reader is kept in suspense about what will actually happen at the Symplegades.

After the Argonauts' exertions, the intervention itself is brief, though not unexpected because Athena has already taken her place ready to act; she pushes the Argo out of danger (2.598–99) and returns to Olympus (2.602–3). The action and its consequences are treated with the swiftly changing focus and the emphasis on visual effect which are characteristic of the whole scene; within ten lines (2.596–605) the reader's attention is taken from the Rocks to the Argo, to Athena's action and to the ship again, back to Athena and then for a final glance at the Rocks, now fixed for all time. Athena's interference is thus consistent in style with what precedes, so that it becomes a natural development rather than a superimposed intrusion.

As Athena notices that the time has come for her to act and travels to the Rocks, we are reminded of her activity in the *Iliad*:

2.537 οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀθηναίην προτέρω λάθον ὁρμηθέντες.
(... their departure did not go unnoticed by Athena.)
Il. 4.127 οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο
ἀθάνατοι, πρώτη δὲ Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἀγελείη....
(And you, Menelaus, the gods, the blessed immortals, did not forget you—and first among them Zeus' daughter, goddess of spoil....)

This recalls Athena's concern for Menelaus; in *Iliad* 4 she deflects an arrow, here the ship resembles one (2.600)[143] and the oars bend like bows (2.591–92).

Athena's mode of transport is not Homeric; she commandeers a cloud which transports her despite her weight and 'mounts' it as if it were a ship or a chariot (2.538–40).[144] The Iliadic framework is

[143] There is disagreement as to whether 2.600 refers to Athena's motion or to that of the ship. Clausing (1913), 34 believes that it describes Athena, but Lindsay (1965), 18–19, H. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios* (Munich: 1968), 210, Vian N.C. on 2.599 take it as referring to the Argo, which is more natural in view of αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη 'but Athena' (2.602–3). The simile also matches that at 2.591–92 where the oars bend like a bow and so the ship corresponds to an arrow, since it is propelled by the oars. As in Book 4, the Argo flies through the air as a result of divine help. For Athena guiding the course of a real arrow at Il. 4.127–33, cf. Il. 4.127–28/2.537 above, and ἡ δ' ἰκέλη 'she, like...' (2.600)/Il. 4.86 (of Athena).

[144] ἐπιβαίνω 'get on board' is used of a ship at e.g. 1.446, of a chariot at 3.869. Cf. Athena's mounting of Diomedes' chariot (Il. 5.837–39), and D. Feeney, *The Gods*

retained in the simile which follows (2.541–46), which is based on one describing Hera's ascent to Olympus at Il. 15.80–82. In between these echoes of the *Iliad*, 2.540 recalls two Odyssean lines where Athena helps her favourite, Odysseus, as he walks to the city of the Phaeacians:

> 2.540 σεύατ' ἵμεν Πόντον δέ, <u>φίλα φρονέουσ'</u> ἐρέτῃσιν.
> (. . . [she] hastened towards the Pontos to bring welcome help to the rowers.)
> Od. 7.15 πολλὴν ἠέρα χεῦε <u>φίλα φρονέουσ'</u> Ὀδυσῆϊ. . . .
> ([Athena] poured a thick mist around him; this was in kindness to Odysseus. . . .)
> Od. 7.42 θεσπεσίην κατέχευε <u>φίλα φρονέουσ'</u> ἐνὶ θυμῷ.
> ([Athena] in protection had shed the enchanted mist all round him.)

This line is echoed again at 3.210 when it is Hera's turn to protect the Argonauts (cf. p. 258); in all these passages the goddess' concern is that her favourite(s) should pass safely through a potentially dangerous zone. Another parallel to Athena's interventions in Scheria comes as Athena leaves the earth (Ἀθήνη | Οὔλυμπον δ' (Athena [rose up] to Olympus) 2.602–3, cf. Od. 6.41–42).

Among the allusions to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* comes an alarming reference to another epic source at the very moment of Athena's intervention. The phrase σκαιῇ, δεξιτερῇ δέ (2.599) also begins Hesiod, Th. 179, where Kronos prepares to castrate Ouranos. This hints at the sinister and violent aspects of the 'pre-Olympian' world around Colchis which the Argonauts now enter as a result of Athena's action.[145]

The Argonauts' attempt to row past the Rocks, having first tested them with the dove, is described, as we have seen, in language which draws on the *Odyssey*, while Athena's behaviour recalls her actions in both the *Iliad* and another episode of the *Odyssey*. Even where the allusions in the scene are concerned, Athena's world is keep separate from that of the Argonauts. The episodes of the *Odyssey* concerned are all ones which are important in other parts of the *Argonautica*; the passage of the Symplegades, as the event which is emblematic of the whole voyage, fuses aspects of some of the most important events in Odysseus' travels, and is linked by them to other parts of Apollonius'

---

in Epic (Oxford: 1991) 73. Athena's physical mass will be suggested again later, as she braces herself against a rock (2.598–99).

[145] Kronos is mentioned at 2.1232. The castration is referred to at 4.984–86, as the Argonauts reenter the Greek world at Scheria.

epic. It does not draw exclusively on the most obvious model, the Homeric Wandering Rocks, but becomes a nexus of similarities to the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and Hesiod.

2.552 . . . πολλὸν δὲ φόβῳ προτέρωσε νέοντο,
ἤδη δέ σφισι δοῦπος ἀρασσομένων πετράων
νωλεμὲς οὔατ' ἔβαλλε, βόων δ' ἁλιμυρέες ἀκταί. . . .
595 ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσσαις
Πληγάσι δινήεις εἶχεν ῥόος· αἱ δ' ἑκάτερθεν
σειόμεναι βρόμεον, πεπέδητο δὲ νήια δοῦρα.

(. . . they voyaged in great fear, for the roar of the rocks crashing together was already a constant din in their ears and the sea-battered cliffs echoed with the noise. . . . The eddying current held her in the midst of the Clashing Rocks; on both sides the Rocks shook and thundered, and the timbers of the ship could not move.)

Od. 12.202 καπνὸν καὶ μέγα κῦμα ἴδον καὶ δοῦπον ἄκουσα·
τῶν δ' ἄρα δεισάντων ἐκ χειρῶν ἔπτατ' ἐρετμά,
βόμβησαν δ' ἄρα πάντα κατὰ ῥόον· ἔσχετο δ' αὐτοῦ
νηῦς, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτ' ἐρετμὰ προήκεα χερσὶν ἔπειγον.

('. . . I saw smoke above heavy breakers and heard a great noise. The men took fright, the tapered oars all flew from their hands to drop with a crash into the sea, and with not a man using his oar the vessel came to rest where she was.')

2.555 δὴ τότ' ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν ὦρτο πελειάδα χειρὶ μεμαρπὼς
Εὔφημος πρῴρης ἐπιβήμεναι. . . .

(Then Euphemus took a position on the prow with the dove in his hand. . . .)

Od. 12.228 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καταδὺς κλυτὰ τεύχεα καὶ δύο δοῦρε
μάκρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἑλὼν εἰς ἴκρια νηὸς ἔβαινον
πρῴρης·

('. . . but I put my glorious armour on, took a long spear in either hand and strode up to the half-deck forward. . . .')

2.575 τοὺς δ' ἐλάοντας ἔχεν τρόμος, ὄφρα μιν αὐτὴ
πλημυρὶς παλίνορσος ἀνερχομένη κατένεικεν
εἴσω πετράων. . . .
2.588 Εὔφημος δ' ἀνὰ πάντας ἰὼν βοάασκεν ἑταίρους
ἐμβαλέειν κώπῃσιν ὅσον σθένος, οἱ δ' ἀλαλητῷ
κόπτον ὕδωρ. ὅσσον δ' ἂν ὑπείκαθε νηῦς ἐρέτῃσι,
δὶς τόσον ἂψ ἀπόρουσεν·

(They rowed in trembling fear until the back-wave on its return washed them into the midst of the rocks. . . . Euphemus went among all the companions shouting at them to put all their force into their oars, and they gave a cry as they beat the water. Whatever progress the rowers made, the ship was thrown back twice as far by the surge. . . .)

Od. 9.485 τὴν δ' αἶψ' ἤπειρόνδε παλιρρόθιον φέρε κῦμα,
πλημυρὶς ἐκ πόντοιο, θέμωσε δὲ χέρσον ἱκέσθαι.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ χείρεσσι λαβὼν περιμήκεα κοντὸν
ὦσα παρέξ· ἑτάροισι δ' ἐποτρύνας ἐκέλευσα
ἐμβαλέειν κώπῃς, ἵν' ὑπὲκ κακότητα φύγοιμεν,
κρατὶ κατανεύων· οἱ δὲ προπεσόντες ἔρεσσον.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δὶς τόσσον ἅλα πρήσσοντες ἀπῆμεν,
καὶ τότ' ἐγὼ Κύκλωπα προσηύδων·

('... the swell from beyond came washing back at once and the wave carried the ship landwards and drove it towards the strand. But I myself seized a long pole and pushed the ship out and away again, moving my head and signing to my companions urgently to pull at their oars and escape destruction; so they threw themselves forward and rowed hard. But when we were twice as far out on the water as before, I made ready to hail the Cyclops again....')

Od. 12.206 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ διὰ νηὸς ἰὼν ὄτρυνον ἑταίρους

('I began to walk up and down the vessel, offering my men words to ... hearten....')

CHAPTER TWO

THE HOMERIC 'RECURRENT SCENE'

Since the appearance of Arend's pioneering study,[1] it has been recognised that scenes in Homer which recount the same actions, often in almost the same words, are not the result of lack of inventiveness or interpolation, but are instances of an integral part of Homer's poetic technique. In his discussion of the 'typical scene' in Homer, Arend compared Homer's practice with Apollonius', noting that the Alexandrian poet only had one extended example of each of the main types of such scenes. This is not simply due to the smaller dimensions of the *Argonautica*; like Apollonius' abandoning of the verbal formula, it is another way of avoiding repetition. However, Apollonius' examples of such scenes draw on several predecessors, while remaining entirely apt to their setting; this is analogous to the way in which he condenses several Homeric phrases into one. The same technique is also used in scenes which describe a type of action or event which occurs more than once in Homer, without being a 'typical scene' in the strict sense.

In this chapter I shall consider one of Arend's 'typical scenes', the sacrifice, as represented in the offering which the Argonauts make before they set sail, and two other events which have multiple Homeric models, the boxing match which opens *Argonautica* 2 and the shipwreck of the sons of Phrixus which ends that book. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of how shipwreck material from the *Odyssey* is also used elsewhere in the *Argonautica*.[2]

1. *The Sacrifice: 1.402–49*

Selected passages from this and from some Homeric sacrifices are quoted at the end of this section on pp. 60–62.

---

[1] Arend (1933).

[2] For a discussion of repeated events in the *Argonautica*, which are another equivalent of the Homeric 'typical scene', cf. A. M. Miller, *Studies in the Argonautica of Apollonius* (Diss. Ohio: 1974) ch. 1.

The description of sacrifice is a natural candidate for a 'typical scene' in Greek epic; the narrative must of necessity follow a certain pattern since the ritual remains essentially the same every time the action is performed. However, Homeric sacrifices have a regular pattern beyond that dictated by ritual, since certain parts of the ceremony which are attested in other sources are never described,[3] and formulae describing sacrifice recur in different scenes. This particular sacrifice in the *Argonautica*, the only one to be described in any detail,[4] has been compared to the one at the end of *Odyssey* 3, to which it has extensive resemblances,[5] but it also draws on the sacrifice in *Iliad* 1 and others.[6] I shall begin by setting the sacrifice alongside the example in *Odyssey* 3, then discuss the influence of other Homeric sacrifices.

The sacrifice at Od. 3.430–63 takes place at Nestor's palace in response to Athena's appearance there. As in Apollonius, it precedes a journey, that of Telemachus and Peisistratus to Sparta. Both sacrifices are associated with divine revelation; Athena has come in disguise to Pylos with Telemachus and met Nestor, whereas after the Argonauts' sacrifice Idmon, inspired by Apollo, prophesies success for the expedition (1.436–47). Not surprisingly, in each case the divinity concerned is the one to whom the sacrifice is made.

The sacrifice in the *Argonautica* is more elaborate than the one in the *Odyssey*, since two animals, not one, are used; although the scholiast explains[7] that there is one for each epithet of Apollo (Ἄκτιος, Ἐμβάσιος), it is more likely that the increase in the number of victims reflects the importance of propitiating the gods before a major expedition. The Argonauts do not gild the horns of their victims

[3] On Homeric sacrifices, cf. Arend (1933), 64–78, O. Tsagarakis, *Form and Content in Homer* (Wiesbaden: 1982) 80–86, J. S. Stallings, *Scenes of Eaten Sacrifice in the Iliad* (Diss. Ann Arbor: 1985). On the omission of standard parts of the ritual in Homer, cf. G. S. Kirk, "Some Methodological Pitfalls in the Study of Ancient Greek Sacrifice (in Particular)," *Fondation Hardt Entretiens 27* (Geneva: 1981), 65–68; he gives a table on p. 64.

[4] The most important other sacrifice is Jason's offering to Hecate (3.1207–12). The Argonauts sacrifice after Apollos' epiphanies (2.698–703, 4.1719–20) and on other stages of their journey (e.g. 2.156–57, 4.1129); it is not clear that the Colchian preparations for a feast (3.270–74) follow a sacrifice.

[5] Some are listed by Vian I, 70 n. 1, Clauss (1993), 75–76. K. Thiel, *Erzählung und Beschreibung in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (Stuttgart: 1993) 178, notes the conservatism of the language used in the scene.

[6] The sacrifice also alludes to *Odyssey* 8; cf. D. P. Nelis, "Demodocus and the Song of Orpheus: Ap. Rhod. Arg. 1.496–511," *MH* 49 (1992), 155.

[7] Σ ad 1.407.

(contrast Od. 3.425–26, Od. 3.432–35, Od. 3.437–38), perhaps because they do not have access to the necessary materials. They build an altar out of small stones from the beach (1.402–3); this has no parallel in *Odyssey* 3, since Nestor would have an altar already beside his palace.[8]

The two accounts both dwell on the preparations for the sacrifice. Homer says who brings which of the many accessories for the gilding of the horns and for the sacrifice itself, beginning with unnamed people and ending with the sons of Nestor, who are named (Od. 3.421–44); in Apollonius, the Argonauts as a group make the preparations, apart from bringing the animals, but no individuals are mentioned (1.402–9). There is nothing describing the arrival of the sacrificial party at the altar (contrast Od. 3.431–44), apart from the bringing of the victims to the altar at 1.407–8 (cf. Od. 3.439); instead, since the Argonauts are already at the altar, the narrative moves directly from its construction and the arrival of the victims to the beginning of the ritual. Apollonius does not mention the cutting off and throwing into the fire of hair from the victims (Od. 3.446), and, as has already been mentioned, the horns of the victims are not gilded. The part of the ceremony immediately preceding the prayer is thus compressed. Hand-washing and throwing of barley are suggested in a half-line taken straight from Homer (1.409a = Od. 3.445a), though it now refers to the barley and the water being offered to Jason, rather than to their use in the ritual. Jason's prayer, given in full (1.411–24), replaces the unquoted prayers of Nestor (Od. 3.445–46); more emphasis is placed on it by the omission of some of the preceding stages.

Jason, recently chosen as leader, takes the part of Nestor as 'master of ceremonies'; it is he who prays to Apollo as Nestor prays to Athena. Both poets confusingly mention sacrificial barley after the prayers as well as before them.[9] Apollonius clears up the ambiguity

---

[8] The altar at Pagasae is apparently mentioned in Callimachus' *Aetia* (fr. 18.12–13), where there seems to be a reference to Jason's embarkation; Ἐμβασίοιό τ' ἐπώνυμον (1.404)/ἐπώνυμον Ἐμβασίοιο (fr. 18.12); cf. R. Pfeiffer, ed., *Callimachus* (Oxford: 1949) ad loc., Hutchinson (1992), 87–88, A. Harder, "Aspects of the Structure of Callimachus' *Aetia*," in *Callimachus*, eds. M. A. Harder et al. (Groningen: 1993), 106–7. It may have been an *aition*, since Apollonius elsewhere adds aetiological notes on something the Argonauts leave behind after a sacrifice such as an altar, dedication or sanctuary (2.717–19, 2.928–29, 4.1620–22), though he does not do so here, perhaps because Callimachus had already used it in this way.

[9] In Homer κατάρχετο 'began the ceremony' (Od. 3.445) refers to the lifting up

by having the barley handed to Jason at 1.409 and specifying at 1.425 that the throwing of the barley is simultaneous with the prayer. He also varies the vocabulary by substituting προχύτας 'barley-grains' (a word first attested in Euripides)[10] for οὐλοχύτας (1.425).

The actual killing follows; in Apollonius the task of stunning the animals is given to Heracles and Ancaeus, who have been allocated the central bench on the ship (1.396–400) because they are the strongest of the Argonauts. Each uses a weapon which is elsewhere associated with him; Heracles dispatches his victim with a blow from the famous club, whereas Ancaeus uses the Homeric method of severing the neck tendons with his axe.[11] Ancaeus' action is also close to Homer in its phraseology; he is ὑπέρβιος 'very strong', a variation on the Homeric ὑπέρθυμος 'very spirited' used of Nestor's son Thrasymedes (Od. 3.448), and αὐχένα κόψας . . . πελέκει . . . διέκερσε τένοντας 'cutting the neck with his axe . . . he severed the tendons' (1.429–30) is modelled on πέλεκυς δ' ἀπέκοψε τένοντας αὐχενίους 'the axe cut through the tendons of the neck' (Od. 3.449–50). Apollonius is precise about how the animals fall to the ground, each in a way appropriate to the manner in which it has been struck (1.428, 1.431); Homer in Od. 3.450 is vaguer.[12] The stunning of the victims is described at greater length than in Homer (1.425–31, Od. 3.448–50), not just because there are more of them, but also to emphasise the strength of the two Argonauts. There is no equivalent of Od. 3.451–53; the ritual shriek would be uttered by women[13] and there are none present, nor is the lifting of the victims' heads (a standard element in Homer) described. Instead Apollonius moves straight on to the slaughter, which also is described in less detail than in Homer, with nothing corresponding to Od. 3.455; like the battle in Book 2, the sacrifice is bloodless. This action is performed by a number of Argonauts, but again no one is named.

---

of the barley (as at Il. 1.449); on the twofold reference to barley framing the prayer, cf. Stallings (1985), 127.

[10] E. El. 803, IA 1112, 1471.

[11] For Heracles' club, cf. 1.532, 1.1196, 1.1206, 2.150, 4.1439; Ancaeus' axe, cf. 1.168–69, 2.119.

[12] The posture of Ancaeus' victim foreshadows the subduing of the fire-breathing bulls in 3.1306–13, and the killings anticipate the murder of Apsyrtus, who is depicted as a sacrificial victim (4.468–74; cf. E. Livrea, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon liber quartus* (Florence: 1973) on 4.468). Cf. also Il. 17.520–23.

[13] On this shriek, cf. L. Deubner, "Ololyge und Verwandtes," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft* (1941), 20–23.

The end of the ritual resembles Homer's account more closely, though Apollonius mentions the flaying, which is omitted in *Odyssey* 3. ἱερὰ μῆρ' ἐτάμοντο 'they cut out the sacred thigh-pieces' at line-end (1.433) echoes ἐκ μηρία τάμνον 'they cut out the thigh-pieces' (Od. 3.456), καλύψαντες πύκα δημῷ 'covering them thickly in fat' (1.434) recalls κατά τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν 'they covered them with fat' (Od. 3.457) with the variation of δημῷ for κνίσῃ and altered word order, and καῖον ἐπὶ σχίζῃσιν 'they burnt them on firewood' (1.435) corresponds to καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς 'he burnt them on firewood' (Od. 3.459), both at line-beginning. The sequence of events is as in Homer, with both poets moving on to the libation in mid-line, but Apollonius omits the placing of the meat on the thigh bones (Od. 3.458). In both cases the wrapping of the thighs in fat is a shared task, whereas the final libation is performed by the celebrant (1.435–36, Od. 3.459–60). The burning on the fire is done by the Argonauts when we might have expected Jason if the account was completely parallel to Homer's; yet again an action assigned to a specific person in Homer (Nestor) is given to unspecified Argonauts. Both poets refer to the man making the libation obliquely, rather than using his real name as in 1.409 and Od. 3.436.

Apollonius does not use Od. 3.460–63 (the cutting up and roasting of the meat). There is a feast at 1.453–518, but it is only implied that the meat consumed then comes from the sacrifice. The link between them is achieved more subtly by Idmon's prophecy at the feast, which is prompted by the well-omened way in which the offering burns (1.436–38, esp. 1.438b). Though Idmon knew of his own fate already (1.445–46) his optimism for the expedition as a whole (1.440–41) comes from his interpretation of the sacrifice. His inspiration by Apollo to prophesy at this moment (1.439) is a sign of Apollo's acceptance of the sacrifice, replacing the actual presence of the god at the ritual (Od. 3.435–36).[14] Whilst *Odyssey* 3 is not the only source for the sacrifice, the influence of that book continues into the narrative immediately afterwards (1.451/Od. 3.487) (p. 62). The Homeric line is a common formula (Od. 2.388, Od. 3.497, Od. 11.12, etc.), but could nevertheless be added to the other echoes of *Odyssey* 3. In

[14] Clauss (1993), 75–77 suggests that the purpose of the allusions to *Odyssey* 3 is to indirectly indicate Apollo's approval. Feeney (1991), 69–70 notes the witty substitution of Idmon for Apollo when 1.436 is compared with Il. 1.457 and Il. 1.474.

characteristic fashion, Apollonius introduces a variation, by using ὑποσκιόωνται 'grew shady' for the uncompounded verb;[15] ἄρουραι 'fields' also recalls the sound of ἀγυιαί 'pathways' and occurs at the same metrical position.

The parallels with the sacrifice in *Odyssey* 3 are completed at the end of the feast (1.516–22, Od. 3.329–34, Od. 3.341, Od. 3.404–5) (p. 62). The end of a sacrificial meal is marked by the burning of the tongues of the victims and a libation. This ritual is described only in these two passages in extant literature and was apparently not included in the *proecdosis*.[16] The end-of-meal libation is made to Zeus as in Soph. fr. 425R,[17] though it was generally believed that the one in the *Odyssey* was to Hermes.[18] The meal in *Odyssey* 3 is not that which follows the sacrifice discussed above, but is consequent on the sacrifice which Nestor is offering to Poseidon when Telemachus arrives, whereas in the *Argonautica* the tongues belong to the victims sacrificed to Apollo. Apollonius has joined two separate pieces of narrative from *Odyssey* 3 to frame his account of the Argonauts' feast. None of the verbal parallels are especially close, but Apollonius' use of *Odyssey* 3 for the sacrifice itself, and the rarity of the ritual of the tongues, secure the allusion.

The basic outline of the sacrifice itself is as in *Odyssey* 3, with less detail concerning the preparations and the slaughter, and the roasting of the meat omitted.[19] There are elements in Apollonius' account which do not appear in the Odyssean version, chiefly the extended prayer to Apollo and the flaying (1.411–24, 1.432), and more detail about the blows which stun the victims. When the two scenes are set side by side, some contrasts can be made between them. The compression of the preparations for the sacrifice lays emphasis on Jason's prayer, and Apollonius' refusal to name most of those who assist in the ritual focuses the reader's attention on the main participants, Jason, Ancaeus and Heracles, who have also been active in the previous scenes.

---

[15] ὑποσκιάω occurs elsewhere only in Aratus.

[16] Cf. Fantuzzi (1988), 100–4. On the relation of this action to the preceding sacrifice and to *Odyssey* 3, cf. Clauss (1993), 85–86.

[17] Though this is possibly not at the *end* of the meal.

[18] Od. 7.136–38 was cited as evidence for Hermes; cf. Fantuzzi (1988), 102–4, who believes the change is evidence that the second edition of the *Argonautica* moved away from Homeric practice.

[19] The four-part division which is found in Homer by Stallings (1985), 110, (preparation for sacrifice/sacrifice/preparation for feast/feast), can be detected here (1.402–7, 1.407–49, 1.450–55, 1.455–518).

There are also close similarities in vocabulary, even allowing for the inevitable likelihood of duplication which is inherent in describing a set ritual with its own technical terms. The most obvious of these is (1) 1.409's borrowing of a half-line directly from *Odyssey* 3, and there is also (2) 1.425/Od. 3.447, (3) 1.426/Od. 3.448, (4) 1.429–30/Od. 3.449–50, (5) 1.433/Od. 3.456, (6) 1.434/Od. 3.457, (7) 1.435–36/Od. 3.459–60. Various ways in which Apollonius creates the effect of *oppositio in imitando* are represented: alteration of vocabulary by changing the first part (προχύτας/οὐλοχύτας, (ὑπο)σκιόωνται) or last part (ὑπέρβιος/ὑπέρθυμος) of a word, substitution of a word for another of the same meaning (δημῷ/κνίσῃ, διέκερσε/ἀπέκοψε, changes in number of verb and in morphology (καῖον ἐπὶ σχίζῃσιν/καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς) and variation of word order (1.429–30/Od. 3.449–50, 1.434/Od. 3.457).[20] Of the similarities listed above, (1), (3), (5), (6), and (7) occur in the same place in the line as their Homeric sources. However, of these at first impressive resemblances (2), (5), (6) and (7) are shared with Il. 1.446–466 (Chryses' sacrifice to Apollo on his daughter's return), owing to the formulaic nature of Homeric composition, especially in a 'typical scene' of this kind. It is therefore worth comparing this sacrifice also with the example in Apollonius.

The sacrifice in *Iliad* 1 makes an appropriate model for the one in the *Argonautica*; it occurs a similar number of lines from the beginning of the poem, and it is to the same god, Apollo. Though the sacrifice itself is not explicitly said to be on the seashore, it is associated with two sea voyages, that in which the Greeks bring the victims and Chryses' daughter, and their return journey (1.477–86, Il. 1.430–39). Before they return, they have a feast with music and sleep the night beside their ships (Il. 1.467–76) like the Argonauts (1.450–518).

The replacement of Agamemnon, who might be expected to lead the party, with the more diplomatic Odysseus resembles Jason's taking on the leadership of the Argonautic expedition (and the rôle of celebrant) rather than Heracles. This comparison suggests that Jason's eloquence might prove more useful than the strength of Heracles. The contrast is exemplified in the parts they play in the sacrifice; Jason prays, but Heracles kills.

The sacrifice in the *Iliad* is more elaborate than that in the *Argonautica*, since it is a full hecatomb, not just one or two victims. Unlike

---

[20] For a summary of Apollonius' ways of achieving this effect, cf. G. Giangrande, "Aspects of Apollonius Rhodius' Language," *Arca* 2 (1976), 271–91, esp. 278.

the sacrifices in *Odyssey* 3 and the *Argonautica*, little is said about the preparations for the sacrifice, apart from the description of the voyage. χερνίψαντο . . . καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο 'they washed their hands and took up the barley-grains' (Il. 1.449), is echoed at 1.409, but the borrowing of a half-line from Od. 3.445 makes that a more likely source.[21] Chryses' prayer (Il. 1.451–456) is a model for Jason's (1.411–424); there is no such prayer in *oratio recta* in *Odyssey* 3.[22] The structure of prayers during sacrifices, like the procedure for the sacrifices themselves, tends to follow a definite pattern, which nevertheless does not preclude Apollonius' using this particular scene as a source. Both prayers begin by attracting the god's attention with κλῦθι, then give a list of places governed by the god (1.411–12, Il. 1.451–52), remind him of favours he has shown in the past (1.412–14, Il. 1.453–54) and ask for help now (1.415–16, 1.420–24, Il. 1.455–56, all introduced by νῦν 'now'). An extra element in the prayer in Apollonius is the promise of a lavish reward for the god from those who return safely (1.416–19); this is absent from Homer, since Calchas has already assured Agamemnon that a hecatomb will appease the god (Il. 1.100). Apollonius keeps the structure of the prayer in *Iliad* 1, as well as the typical format of an epic prayer.[23] The only feature commonly found in Homeric prayers which is absent is the response of the god; Apollo's approval is expressed by means of Idmon's (1.436–39) rather than being given directly as in *Iliad* 1 (Il. 1.43, Il. 1.457).

The following lines also draw considerably on *Odyssey* 3. 1.425 resembles Il. 1.458, but also Od. 3.447. The actual stunning and killing has no equivalent in *Iliad* 1. However, σφάξαν τε θοῶς δεῖράν τε βοείας '[they] quickly slaughtered and flayed the oxen' (1.432) recalls Il. 1.459 καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν; the flaying is not mentioned in *Odyssey* 3. In the following line, μῆρ' ἐτάμοντο 'they cut out the thigh pieces' resembles μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον of Il. 1.460, but also Od. 3.456 (ἐκ μηρία τάμνον); the latter is a more likely model since it occurs in

---

[21] On the differences between the sacrifices in *Iliad* 1 and *Odyssey* 3, cf. Tsagarakis (1982), 82–83.

[22] On Jason's prayer and its equivalent at Anaphe in Callimachus' *Aetia*, cf. Hutchinson (1988), 87–88, Clauss (1993), 78–79.

[23] On Homeric prayers, cf. P. J. B. Beckmann, *Das Gebet bei Homer* (Diss. Würzburg: 1932), M. L. Lang, "Homer and Oral Techniques," *Hesperia* 38 (1969), 159–68, J. V. Morrison, "The Function and Context of Homeric Prayers: a Narrative Perspective," *Hermes* 119 (1991), 145–57 (who discusses prayers where the god does not respond on 151–52). Apollo does intervene directly after the similar prayer which Jason makes at 4.1704–5 (cf. 1.418–19).

the same metrical position. Il. 1.460b–65 = Od. 3.457b–62 (the wrapping of the thighs in fat, their roasting on the fire, the libation and the roasting of the rest of the meat); again we cannot tell which passage is the source for the *Argonautica.* We cannot say that 1.434–36 draws on one account rather than the other; rather, Apollonius recalls the formulaic language used in both Homeric scenes.

Apollo is pleased with the sacrifice as he is in Apollonius (1.436–39, Il. 1.457), and also with the paian sung in his honour (Il. 1.474). However, the feast in Apollonius is very different from its Homeric model. The feast in the *Iliad* is a collective action described in general terms, while its equivalent in the *Argonautica* features conflict between a number of Argonauts. The singing of Orpheus (1.494–512) is intended not to please the god, but to soothe the quarrel between Idas and Idmon. Yet, even this quarrel can be paralleled in *Iliad* 1, in the argument between Achilles and Agamemnon which precedes the sacrifice.

The sacrifice in Book 1 maintains the basic structure common to its two Homeric predecessors whilst borrowing details which are only found in one of them such as the stunning and killing of the victims (from *Odyssey* 3) and the extended prayer and flaying (from *Iliad* 1). In several cases, notably those in which the parallel is a formulaic line appearing in both Homeric passages, a phrase or line in Apollonius could come equally well from either of them, and it would be pointless to 'derive' it from one rather than the other. By drawing on two sources at once, Apollonius can describe a scene in Homeric fashion without recalling one model exclusively.

There are of course other sacrifices in Homer, though they have less bearing on the present passage. At Il. 2.410–29 Agamemnon sacrifices to Zeus; as in the other scene in *Iliad* 1, there is little preparation for the rite. The second half of Il. 2.410 (= Il. 1.449) resembles 1.408–9. Agamemnon's prayer (Il. 2.412–18), like those of Chryses and Jason, is quoted in *oratio recta,* but differs considerably in content, containing only an address to Zeus and a prayer for success in war. Though the same length as Chryses' prayer in *Iliad* 1, it omits the list of places on earth belonging to the god and the mention of past contact between the god and the person praying, two elements which are also found in Jason's prayer. This shows that the similarities between Jason's prayer and Chryses' are not just the consequence of the standard form taken by prayers at sacrifices, and hence demonstrates the link between the sacrifice in the *Argonautica*

and *Iliad* 1. Il. 2.421–24 and 427–29 (= Il. 1.458–61 and Il. 1.464–66), as well as resembling Od. 3.447 and Od. 3.461–63; Il. 2.425–26 (the burning on the fire) differs but resembles 1.435 less than do Il. 1.462–63 (= Od. 3.459–60).[24] Since there is nothing in Apollonius resembling the account in *Iliad* 2 which cannot also be found in the other two Homeric sacrifices so far considered, and some details common to the *Argonautica*, *Iliad* 1 and *Odyssey* 3 are omitted in *Iliad* 2 (such as the ritual hand-washing and the libation), it is not a specific source.

At Od. 12.356–65 Odysseus' companions sacrifice some of the Sun's cattle before eating them. This is a makeshift sacrifice, with oak leaves instead of barley and water for wine. Some of the language is echoed in the *Argonautica* but in every case the line is a formulaic one which appears in *Iliad* 1 or *Odyssey* 3 (Od. 12.359–61 = Il. 1.458a, 459b–61, Od. 12. 364–65 = Od. 3.461–62). This too does not appear to be a specific Homeric model for the sacrifice in the *Argonautica*. Nor do the sacrifice and meal at Il. 7.314–22 have any unique contribution to make to it.

A slightly different parallel comes not from a direct narrative of a sacrifice but from Eumaeus' prayer that Odysseus will return, in which he mentions Odysseus' piety: εἴ ποτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὔμμ' ἐπὶ μηρέα κῆε, καλύψας πίονι δημῷ 'if ever upon your altars Odysseus has made burnt-offerings . . . covering the thigh-bones with rich fat' (Od. 17.240–41), which is echoed at 1.433–34, . . . μῆρ' ἐτάμοντο· . . . καλύψαντες πύκα δημῷ 'they cut out the thigh pieces . . . covering them with a thick layer of fat'. The resemblance is certainly closer than that to Il. 1.460 = Od. 3.457, in the word order, the use of a participle rather than a finite verb, and the presence of δημός 'fat' rather than its synonym κνίση. While Apollonius is saying the same thing as Homer does in *Odyssey* 3/*Iliad* 1 but in different words, he does so by looking to another part of the epic. The allusion to *Odyssey* 17 is appropriate to the setting, since Jason's prayer is for a safe return to Greece, like the prayer for Odysseus, not for success on the expedition except insofar as that is implied in ἐπ' ἀπήμονι μοίρῃ (1.422). This appropriation of phraseology from a different context is another way of being 'Homeric' without drawing exclusively on one particular passage.

[24] σχίζῃσιν . . . κατέκαιον (Il. 2.425), καῖον ἐπὶ σχίζῃσιν (1.435), καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς (Od. 3.459, Il. 1.462), all meaning 'burnt them on firewood'.

The passage has been discussed at greater length than the others in this chapter as an extended example of a Homeric 'typical scene' in a prominent position in the poem. However, its very length and detailed similarity to its models make it unrepresentative of such scenes in the *Argonautica.* Apollonius has conflated details and language from several Homeric passages, giving the impression of formularity, while still recalling particular scenes, notably the sacrifices in *Odyssey* 3 and *Iliad* 1. The extent of verbal similarity to Homer in this passage is remarkable in the *Argonautica,* though it might not have seemed so in another, less original, epic poem. While the correspondences can be partially accounted for by the ritual nature of the action being performed, Apollonius need not have echoed the wording so closely, or indeed have written a full account of a sacrifice at all. He could also have described the rite in phraseology which differed more from Homer's or included standard features of sacrifices which are not described in Homeric epic; instead, all the actions performed can be paralleled from Homer. The scene thus conforms to Homeric conventions not just in what it contains, but also in what it leaves out. The differences between Homeric sacrifices, no two of which are identical, justify Apollonius' creating his own variation on the theme. In other words, his use of Homeric principles in composing the sacrifice in the *Argonautica* is shown in the individuality of the scene as well as in its dependence on its main models.

Nevertheless, the strong influence of these models does not make the sacrifice and feast stand out from their surrounding context. The close adherence to precedent in the sacrifice is succeeded by a rather freer relationship in the feast, and the whole episode follows naturally from the launching and allocation of rowing benches which immediately precede. Comparison with Homer shows that the framework of this 'typical scene', far from being a constraint, allowed Apollonius to make particular points by diverging from his main models, in details which might have been swamped in a more overtly original scene. The omission of blood is an instance of the curious bloodlessness of the first two books, while the absence of any clear indication that Apollo accepts the sacrifice exemplifies the comparative remoteness of the gods in the *Argonautica.* The very prominence of the sacrifice establishes themes which will recur throughout the poem; the Argonauts' piety, their dual identity as a group and as individuals, and the mastery over animals which will culminate in Jason's conquest of the bronze bulls. This principle is one we shall

see at work in many other adaptations of Homer; it is most clearly demonstrated where the relationship to the antecedents is obvious, as here.

The sacrifice is a way of paying homage to Apollonius' main model at the opening of the epic, as it reworks Homer in its subject matter, construction, narrative detail, and language. In this it performs a similar function to the proem, the Catalogue, and the cloak, before the poem becomes more experimental. Other examples of Homeric 'typical scenes' in the *Argonautica*, such as welcomes and assemblies (pp. 117, 191–92), do not borrow phraseology to the same extent. Nevertheless, the sacrifice is representative of Apollonius' treatment of such scenes in the way that it merges several different examples, and is selective in what it takes from them, abbreviating or omitting standard details.

1.407 τοὺς δ' ἐρύσαντο
κουρότεροι ἑτάρων βωμοῦ σχεδόν, οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα
χέρνιβά τ' οὐλοχύτας τε παρέσχεθον. αὐτὰρ Ἰήσων
εὔχετο κεκλόμενος πατρώϊον Ἀπόλλωνα·
'κλῦθι, ἄναξ Παγασάς τε πόλιν τ' Αἰσωνίδα ναίων. . . .'
ἦ καὶ ἅμ' εὐχωλῇ προχύτας βάλε. τὼ δ' ἐπὶ βουσὶ
ζωσάσθην, Ἀγκαῖος ὑπέρβιος Ἡρακλέης τε.
ἤτοι ὁ μὲν ῥοπάλῳ μέσσον κάρη ἀμφὶ μέτωπα
πλῆξεν, ὁ δ' ἀθρόος αὖθι πεσὼν ἐνερείσατο γαίῃ·
Ἀγκαῖος δ' ἑτέροιο κατὰ πλατὺν αὐχένα κόψας
χαλκείῳ πελέκει κρατεροὺς διέκερσε τένοντας,
ἤριπε δ' ἀμφοτέροισι περιρρηδὴς κεράεσσι.
τοὺς δ' ἕταροι σφάξαν τε θοῶς δεῖράν τε βοείας,
κόπτον δαίτρευόν τε καὶ ἱερὰ μῆρ' ἐτάμοντο·
κὰδ δ' ἄμυδις τά γε πάντα καλύψαντες πύκα δημῷ
καῖον ἐπὶ σχίζῃσιν· ὁ δ' ἀκρήτους χέε λοιβὰς
Αἰσονίδης. γήθει δὲ σέλας θηεύμενος Ἴδμων. . . .

(. . . these the younger companions dragged to the altar while the others made ready the lustral water and sacred barley-grains. In his prayers Jason invoked his ancestral Apollo: 'Hear me, lord who dwells in Pagasae and the city of Aesonis. . . .' With these words of prayer he threw the barley-grains. The two heroes responsible for the oxen, mighty Ancaeus and Heracles, girded themselves in preparation. The latter crashed his club down on the middle of the forehead of one ox; in one movement its heavy body fell to the ground. Ancaeus cut the other's broad neck with his bronze axe, slicing through the tough tendons; it fell sprawling over its two horns. Their comrades quickly slaughtered and flayed the oxen, chopping and cutting them up and removing the thigh pieces for sacrifice. These they covered all over with a thick layer of fat and burnt them on

spits, while the son of Aeson poured libations of unmixed wine. Idmon rejoiced as he gazed at the flame. . . .)

Od. 3.444 γέρων δ' ἱππηλάτα Νέστωρ
χέρνιβά τ' οὐλοχύτας τε κατάρχετο, πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνῃ
εὔχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' εὔξαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο,
αὐτίκα Νέστορος υἱός, ὑπέρθυμος Θρασυμήδης,
ἤλασεν ἄγχι στάς· πέλεκυς δ' ἀπέκοψε τένοντας
αὐχενίους, λῦσεν δὲ βοὸς μένος· αἱ δ' ὀλόλυξαν
θυγατέρες τε νυοί τε καὶ αἰδοίη παράκοιτις
Νέστορος, Εὐρυδίκη, πρέσβα Κλυμένοιο θυγατρῶν.
οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀνελόντες ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
ἔσχον· ἀτὰρ σφάξεν Πεισίστρατος, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν.
τῆς δ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ μέλαν αἷμα ῥύη, λίπε δ' ὀστέα θυμός,
αἶψ' ἄρα μιν διέχευαν, ἄφαρ δ' ἐκ μηρία τάμνον
πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν, κατά τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν
δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν.
καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς ὁ γέρων, ἐπὶ δ' αἴθοπα οἶνον
λεῖβε· νέοι δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν.

(Nestor, the aged lord of chariots, began the rite with the lustral water and the barley, and with these first ceremonies he prayed to Athena earnestly and threw in the fire the few hairs cut from the victim's head. When they had prayed and had sprinkled the crushed barley-grains, the son of Nestor, Thrasymedes, took his stand forthwith beside the beast and struck her; the axe cut the sinews of the neck and stunned the senses of the heifer, and at this the women called out aloud—Nestor's daughters and daughters-in-law and Eurydice his revered wife, eldest of the daughters of Clymenus. Then the young men raised the victim's head from earth and held it, and Prince Peisistratus cut the throat; the dark blood gushed out, and the life departed from the bones. Then quickly they divided the flesh; at once they cut out the thigh-bones in ritual fashion, covered them with the fat twice folded, and laid the raw meat above. The old king went on to burn these offerings on cloven wood and to pour glowing wine upon them; the young men came to his side holding five-pronged forks.)

Il. 1.449 χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο.
τοῖσιν δὲ Χρύσης μεγάλ' εὔχετο χεῖρας ἀνασχών·
'κλῦθί μευ, ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας
Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην Τενέδοιό τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις. . . .'
458 αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' εὔξαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο,
αὐέρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν
μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατά τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν
δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν·
καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς ὁ γέρων, ἐπὶ δ' αἴθοπα οἶνον
λεῖβε· νέοι δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν.

([They] washed their hands and took up the barley-grains for sprinkling. Chryses lifted up his arms among them and prayed in a great voice:

'Hear me, lord of the silver bow, protector of Chryse and holy Cilla, and mighty lord of Tenedos. . . .' . . . When they had offered prayers and sprinkled the barley-grains, first they pulled back the victims' heads and slaughtered them and flayed them: and they cut out the thigh-bones and covered them with fat, folding it twice over, and placed pieces of raw meat on top. The old man burnt them on cut firewood, and poured libations of gleaming wine, while the young men stood by him with five-tanged forks in their hands.)

1.451 αἱ δὲ νέον σκοπέλοισιν ὑποσκιόωνται ἄρουραι
(. . . the ploughlands were beginning to grow shady from the rocks. . . .)
Od. 3.487 δύσετό τ' ἠέλιος σκιόωντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγυιαί·
(The sun sank, and light thickened on every pathway.)
1.516 οὐδ' ἐπὶ δὴν μετέπειτα κερασσάμενοι Διὶ λοιβάς,
ἣ θέμις, ἑστηῶτες ἐπὶ γλώσσῃσι χέοντο
αἰθομέναις, ὕπνου δὲ διὰ κνέφας ἐμνώοντο.
αὐτὰρ ὅτ' αἰγλήεσσα φαεινοῖς ὄμμασιν Ἠὼς
Πηλίου αἰπεινὰς ἴδεν ἄκριας. . . .
1.522 δὴ τότ' ἀνέγρετο Τῖφυς·
(Not long afterwards they mixed libations to Zeus as ritual demanded, and as they stood they poured these over the burning tongues of the sacrifices; then their thoughts turned to sleep in the dark of night. When the shining eyes of gleaming Dawn beheld the steep ridges of Pelion, . . . then Tiphys awoke.)
Od. 3.329 . . . ἠέλιος δ' ἄρ' ἔδυ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθε. . . .
332 (Athena to Nestor)
ἀλλ' ἄγε τάμνετε μὲν γλώσσας. . . .
334 κοίτοιο μεδώμεθα. . . .
341 γλώσσας δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον, ἀνιστάμενοι δ' ἐπέλειβον. . . .
404 ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς,
ὄρνυτ' ἄρ' ἐξ εὐνῆφι . . . Νέστωρ.
(. . . the sun sank, and darkness came. . . . '. . . let your men cut up all the victims' tongues. . . . let us turn our thoughts to sleep . . .' . . . they threw the tongues on the fire and stood up to pour wine over them. . . . Dawn comes early, with rosy fingers. When she appeared, Nestor . . . rose from his bed)

2. *The Boxing Match (2.1–97)*

The boxing match between Polydeuces and Amycus is one of the passages which compensate for the absence of a full set of games in the *Argonautica*. The lively description of the match displays Apollonius' gift for vivid pictorial illustration,[25] but at the same time the scene

[25] Cf. Zanker (1987), 68 'eminently picturable'. For a discussion of the scene in

makes use of the boxing matches in *Iliad* 23 and *Odyssey* 18, which have left fewer traces in Theocritus' parallel account of the same incident.[26] The two Homeric matches are not an example of the 'typical scene' in the strict sense; there is only one match in each epic, so the scene is not repeated within the poem. Nevertheless, the boxing matches can be seen as instances of a more general pattern; in outline, the match is proposed and a reward is offered, the combatants prepare themselves and fight, and the loser is carried away from the arena.[27] Apollonius treats his match as he does true 'typical scenes', merging the various models into one another.

The circumstances of the match differ from those of both of its Homeric models. The matches in *Iliad* 23 and *Odyssey* 18 are both regarded as entertainment by the onlookers, if not by the participants; they are organised by a third party (Achilles and Antinous), who offers a prize to the winner. In the *Argonautica*, it is Amycus who sets up the fight and dictates the terms, and the outcome is of crucial importance to all present.

a) *Iliad* 23

For extracts from the text, see pp. 70–71 at the end of this section.

Amycus' challenge (2.11–18) corresponds structurally to the introductory speech of Achilles (Il. 23.658–63), which sets out the terms of the fight. His second speech (2.55–59) has more in common with Epeius' boastful acceptance of this challenge (Il. 23.667–75); in both speeches one of the combatants boasts of his prowess, saying how others will realise his superiority by the result of the match (2.57, Il. 23.674–75). Epeius and Amycus make no secret of their confidence in their own abilities, though Amycus attempts to deceive the Argonauts by not indicating that he intends to fight to the death, implying that Polydeuces will live to tell the tale (2.57). However, we have been told the outcome of previous matches (2.7), and Polydeuces himself is not fooled. While Epeius is not as cruel as Amycus, he is not a distinguished hero, since his pride in his boxing comes from an awareness of his weakness on the battlefield (Il. 23.670–71).

relation to Homeric models, with particular reference to vocabulary, cf. Thiel (1993), 181–94.

[26] Though cf. Kurz (1982), 89, 94–95. Theocritus echoes different phrases from those used by Apollonius, such as Od. 18.96–97/Theoc. 22.45.

[27] On the structure of the two scenes, cf. H. Bannert, *Formen des Wiederholens bei Homer: Beispiele für eine Poetik des Epos* (Vienna: 1988) 96–101, 136–37.

Both poets describe the preliminaries to the match, namely the appearance of seconds, who give encouragement (2.62–66, Il. 23.681–82)[28] and the dressing and putting on of thongs round the hands (2.51–66, Il. 23.683–84). Apollonius has two seconds for both fighters, whereas in Homer the only one is Diomedes, who assists Euryalus; the symmetry achieved by this change is typical of the way Apollonius continually encourages comparison of Polydeuces and Amycus.[29]

The greatest difference between the two matches is in their length.[30] Homer's is over in ten lines (Il. 23.686–95) and the decisive blow comes halfway through, whereas Apollonius' takes thirty-one (2.67–97) and the outcome is uncertain until the last few lines. This expansion is partly because the match in the *Argonautica* consists of two rounds (2.67–85, 88–97), rather than one. It is also caused by the similes with which Apollonius illustrates his account (2.70–73, 2.79–82, 2.88–89, 2.91); Homer's simile (Il. 23.692–93) comes after the fight has been decided. Homer's two boxing matches do not use similes in quick succession; this technique is, however, characteristic of battle scenes in both Homer and Apollonius (as in the battle which immediately follows).[31]

The clear verbal parallels with *Iliad* 23 come almost exclusively in the first round of the contest. The combatants have their ἱμάντες 'leather thongs' put on, then raise their fists (2.63–69, Il. 23.683–87). χεῖρας ἔμιξεν 'he exchanged blows' (2.78, cf. Il. 23.687) appears in both passages, although by substituting στῆ ῥ' ἄμοτον for the similar sounding and metrically equivalent σὺν ῥ' ἔπεσον Apollonius focuses on Polydeuces' immobility, rather than on the sudden beginning of the fight as in the *Iliad*.[32] The description of the sound of the blows and of the sweatiness of the combatants (2.82–84, 2.86–87, Il. 23.688–89) also resembles Homer's. In both accounts the beginning of the

---

[28] Aretus has a namesake in the *Iliad*, a Trojan who has designs on Achilles' horses (Il. 17.494–542). Like Apollonius' Aretus, he little suspects his imminent death and is described as νήπιος 'foolish' (2.66, Il. 17.497).

[29] Cf. D. Hagopian, *Pollux' Faustkampf mit Amykos* (Vienna: 1955) 53–54, A. Köhnken, *Apollonios Rhodios und Theokrit* (Göttingen: 1965) 85.

[30] Cf. Hagopian (1955), 51.

[31] Some are modelled on similes from Homeric battles: before the match 2.26–29/Il. 20.164–73, 2.40–44/Il. 22.317–20, during it 2.70–75/Il. 15.624–29 (cf. also, from Jason's own *aristeia*, 3.1327–29), 2.88–90/Il. 16.756–58.

[32] ἄμοτον occurs at 4.923 of Charybdis, meaning 'insatiably' or 'violently'; here it seems to mean almost the opposite, 'unwavering'. In Homer it is always used of strong emotion.

fight leads naturally out of the preparations and the encouragement of the seconds; this helps to explain why Apollonius drew on *Iliad* 23 for the first round and not the second.

There are also a few apparent echoes of *Iliad* 23 in the second round; at 2.91–92 βαρεῖαν | χεῖρ' 'heavy fist' recalls Il. 23.687 but the phrase occurs in ten passages in Homer (including Od. 18.56, the other main source for this scene). The phrase βαρείας | χεῖρας has already occurred in Apollonius' account at 2.68–69; it is unusual for an epithet to be so repeated in the *Argonautica*, especially when the repetition occurs within such a short space,[33] and the enjambement of adjective/noun in both occurrences of the phrase makes its recurrence more prominent.[34] Repetition of a noun and adjective, unusual in the poem, is another way of recalling Homeric style in a scene whose dependence on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is already obvious. The similarities to the *Iliad* in the second round are less striking; as with the sacrifice, phraseology which is shared between Homeric passages cannot be exclusively attributed to the influence of one or the other.

There are parallels between 2.95–96 (the decisive blow) and Il. 23.673 and 23.690. However, in the first case Od. 18.96–97 has a better claim to be the model because of the similarity in metrical position, apart from the use of part of ῥήγνυμι 'break' which can be paralleled at Il. 23.673. This comes not from the fight itself, but from Epeius' speech preceding it. Il. 23.690 only contributes κόψε at line-beginning for the final blow. The influence of *Iliad* 23 at this point only amounts to a couple of words, neither in itself very unusual. The brief description of Amycus' fall (2.96–97) contrasts with that of the defeated Euryalus (Il. 23.690–95); the latter event is also bloodier (cf. also *Odyssey* 18). Epeius, unlike Amycus, is proved to be justified in his boasting.

---

[33] Also at 1.555 (dat.), of Cheiron waving to the departing Argonauts, suggesting his animality. Apollonius rarely uses βαρύς of literal heaviness.

[34] Adjective|noun enjambement, as here, occurs about once every 200 lines in Homer (almost always with πᾶς 'all', πολύς 'much/many', or ἄλλος 'other'), in Apollonius about once every 20 lines (M. Parry, "The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse," *TAPA* 60 (1929), 218–19). On enjambement in Greek epic, cf. R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge: 1982) 30–33, whose tables demonstrate that it is commoner in Apollonius than in Homer or Callimachus, C. Higbie, *Measure and Music: Enjambement and Sentence Structure in the Iliad* (Oxford: 1990) [& lit]. On 'runover nouns' in Homer, cf. Tsagarakis (1982), 24–31.

The influence of the boxing match in the *Iliad* is mostly confined to the preparations, including the characterisation of Amycus, and to the first round. After that the match in the *Odyssey* takes over in importance.

b) *Odyssey* 18

For quotations from the text, see pp. 71–73 at the end of this section.

The account of the boxing match between Polydeuces and Amycus is equally influenced by the other Homeric boxing match, the fight between Irus and the disguised Odysseus in *Odyssey* 18, with further echoes of other passages in the second half of the *Odyssey*. In both scenes, the fight follows an insolent speech of provocation by someone who will not tolerate strangers on 'his' property (2.11–18, Od. 18.10–13), although in the *Odyssey* there is no actual challenge to fight at this point, only a threat (Od. 18.13). One of those addressed indicates his willingness to fight if necessary (2.22–24, Od. 18.15–24) though he would rather not cause trouble (2.22–23, Od. 18.15–18). The challenger is quite confident of victory, though he will be proved wrong (Od. 18.26–31); Amycus' confidence may be inferred from the tone of his first speech (2.11–18) and from his past record (2.7), and is explicitly declared at 2.57–59. In this respect, the match in the *Argonautica* is closer to the one in the *Odyssey* than to the match in the *Iliad*, where Epeius' confidence in his abilities is borne out.

Before the match there is a preparatory stage; in the *Odyssey* the suitors set up the contest, Telemachus assures Odysseus of fair play, and the fighters undress. In the *Argonautica* the undressing is accompanied by similes and followed by the choosing of leather thongs for the hands. In both accounts, the handsomeness of the eventual victor is revealed as he strips for the fight (2.40–44, Od. 18.66–70), though the intervention of Athena in changing Odysseus' appearance is not explicitly paralleled in Apollonius.

In each poem a comparison is made between the combatants at this stage; in Apollonius this is done in the narrative by similes (2.38–42) and the description surrounding them (2.37–50), whereas in Homer Odysseus himself complains of the handicap which his age gives him (Od. 18.52–53). This contrast is to be expected in an account of a boxing match; it is also a feature of Theocritus' version (for example in the stichomythia at Id. 22.54–74), although Theocritus is not so thorough in this respect as Apollonius.

The appearance of seconds and the putting on of appropriate dress (2.51–66) are derived, as has been already demonstrated, from *Iliad* 23 and have no clear parallel in *Odyssey* 18. They are natural elements in an account of a boxing match, which are absent from the *Odyssey* because of the makeshift, informal nature of the contest there, just as the sacrifice in *Odyssey* 12 differs from the typical sacrifice in Homer. However, there is one allusion in this part of Apollonius' scene to *Odyssey* 18 (2.55/Od. 18.47). The ἱμάντες recall the stomach stuffed with blood and fat for which Odysseus and Irus fight.[35] The allusion to one of the homelier details of the Odyssean scene brings Apollonius' account down to a more 'everyday' level. The match in the *Odyssey* has no ἱμάντες, while in the *Iliad* there is no mention of the stripping of the combatants. Apollonius includes both stages of the preparation, combining the two Homeric scenes.

The Odyssean match is far shorter than the one in the *Argonautica*, consisting of only one round and lacking the similes which punctuate Apollonius', as well as its fatal conclusion. The 'second round' of Apollonius' match closely resembles the Odyssean fight.[36] In both cases a blow on the shoulder is followed by a decisive one near the ear (above it in Apollonius, below in Homer) which shatters the bones inside; 2.95–96 derives from Od. 18.96–97. After the issue is decided we learn the reaction of the spectators: laughter from the suitors and a cheer of triumph and relief from the Argonauts (2.96–97/Od. 18.99–100).[37] However, in both poems, the pleasure at the outcome cannot be enjoyed for long, since the fight between two people is the prelude to combat on a larger scale where many die (the battle between the Argonauts and the Bebryces, the killing of the suitors)

The fight in the *Argonautica* is, surprisingly, bloodless with nothing corresponding to Od. 18.97. In this it resembles the battle scene which follows, which also makes no direct mention of blood, despite the horrific injuries which are dealt in it.[38]

Apollonius avoids the relentless reliance on ἐλαύνω 'strike' of the

---

[35] 2.55 also resembles Il. 9.288 and Il. 10.235, but *Odyssey* 18 is the most likely source in view of its influence generally on this scene.

[36] Cf. Hagopian (1955), 52.

[37] For 2.96–97, cf. also 4.471–73 (Apsyrtus' death), esp. γνὺξ ἤριπε(ν) 'fell on his knee' in same metrical position) 2.96/4.471. On the resemblance between the two passages, cf. Beye (1982), 150, J. R. Porter, "Tiptoeing through the Corpses: Euripides' *Electra*, Apollonius and the *Bouphonia*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 31 (1990), 266–68.

[38] As with the sacrifice in Book 1. Cf. pp. 59, 96.

Homeric account (Od. 18.91, Od. 18.92, Od. 18.94, Od. 18.95, Od. 18.96, Od. 18.98) and varies the verbs with χεῖρας ἔμιξεν 'he exchanged blows' (2.78), κτύπεον 'sounded' (2.83), οὐτάζοντες 'hitting' (2.84), πελέμιξεν 'he shook' (2.92), ἀΐσσοντος 'rushing' (2.92, cf. 2.76), κόψε 'struck' (2.95) and ῥῆξεν 'broke' (2.96) Some of these words are found in the boxing match in *Iliad* 23 (χεῖρας ἔμιξεν, κόψε). ῥῆξεν (2.96, cf. Il. 23.673) is a less violent verb than ἔθλασεν 'shattered' (Od. 18.97), though the effect of the blow described is more severe; one verb may simply be a variation on the other. βαρεῖαν χεῖρ(α) 'heavy hand' (2.91–92) could come from Od. 18.56 or from Il. 23.687, as stated above.

How does the extent of the allusions to *Odyssey* 18 influence the mood of the scene? A brawl between two beggars for a blood pudding, staged to entertain revellers at a feast, is hardly a dignified episode and the parallels with the Odyssean scene could be seen as humorous. However, in the *Odyssey* the fight is not just 'played for laughs'; Odysseus, even in this degrading situation, shows his true physique and his strength, and his triumph forshadows his eventual defeat of the Suitors. The Suitors for their part display their usual shallowness, indifference to hardship and unawareness of their impending fate. While the match in Apollonius is not obviously comic, other authors may have treated the meeting of Polydeuces and Amycus in a humorous way,[39] as Theocritus does in *Idyll* 22, and the allusions to the less dignified combat in the *Odyssey* may be a way of incorporating this aspect of the legend without diminishing the seriousness of its treatment in the *Argonautica.*

There are further parallels with the second half of the *Odyssey* which reinforce the allusions to *Odyssey* 18 and encourage comparison of Amycus and the Bebryces with Penelope's suitors. Two connect the fight with Ctesippus' throwing of a hoof at the disguised Odysseus in *Odyssey* 20, another of the homelier scenes in the *Odyssey* (2.54/Od. 20.291, sharing ὑπερφίαλος 'arrogant',[40] 2.92–93/Od. 20.300–1). Like

---

[39] Pisander (16 F 5), Epicharmus (frs. 6–8 Kaibel) and Sophocles (frs. 111–12 Pearson); cf. Vian I, 134. Cf. Köhnken (1965), 90–93 (who believes this is evidence for Theocritus' priority).

[40] Of nineteen occurrences of ὑπερφίαλος in the *Odyssey*, nine are in some form of μνηστῆρες ὑπερφίαλοι 'arrogant suitors' and seven others refer to the suitors. In three of the word's eight occurrences in Apollonius it is used of Amycus and his people (here, 2.129, 2.758). It is rare otherwise before the third century. μετηύδα, similarly, does not appear between Homer and Apollonius.

Amycus, Ctesippus does not observe the heroic rules of conduct towards strangers, and in his speech (Od. 20.292–98) indicates his scorn for Odysseus by calling the hoof a ξείνιον 'guest-gift'; he parodies the language of hospitality, as does another figure to whom Amycus is implicitly compared, the Cyclops Polyphemus (Od. 9.369–70) (cf. pp. 131–33).

Another final group of parallels recall the Suitors' downfall (2.82/Od. 22.404, and later 2.106–7/Od. 22.19–20, 2.145/Od. 23.140), and especially 2.137/Od. 22.32–33 (p. 73). 2.137 recalls Od. 22.32–33 more than it does the many other lines which begin νήπιοι. . . . in Homer. Like the Suitors, the supporters of Amycus still do not fully realise the extent of the destruction following the death of their leader. The description of the situation in 2.138–40 recalls the eating up of Odysseus' wealth by the Suitors, particularly ἀλωαί 'threshing floors' and ἀπεόντος ἄνακτος 'in the absence of their king', though now the Bebryces are in the situation of the Ithacans.

The equation of Bebryces with the Suitors is appropriate since they do not respect strangers, are quick to use violence, but in the end receive their just deserts. It is also supported by the pairing of the boxing match with a battle, in which the second part of the Argonauts' triumph is achieved. This compresses the sequence of events in the *Odyssey*, where the Suitors later unexpectedly find themselves losing in combat. Moreover, the outcome of the match foreshadows not only that of the ensuing battle, but also that of the principal contest of the poem, Jason's ordeal in Colchis.[41]

In the *Iliad*, too, the boxing match is a fight for warriors, and real fighting will soon ensue after the games are over, but the combatants will be fighting on the same side;[42] the match in the *Argonautica* is not a harmless substitute for battle which confers honour and material prizes, but a contest to the death which will be continued in battle. The rôle of the match is closer to that of the match in the *Odyssey*.

Apollonius acknowledges the close relationship between boxing and combat in battle not only by juxtaposing the match with a battle scene, but also by making it resemble an extended encounter on the

---

[41] Cf. A. R. Rose (1984), 122–30, and R. L. Hunter, "Bulls and Boxers in Apollonius and Vergil," *CQ* 39 (1989), 559–61 on the relationship between the similes in the boxing match and those in Jason's ordeal.

[42] On the function of the funeral games in *Iliad* 23 and analogies with battle, cf. J. M. Redfield, *Nature and Culture in the Iliad: the Tragedy of Hector* (Chicago: 1975) 204–10, C. W. Macleod, ed., *Homer: Iliad Book XXIV* (Cambridge: 1982) 29–30.

battlefield. Unlike both of Homer's boxing matches, one of the combatants dies, and the fight is generously supplied with similes, like battle scenes in both Homer and Apollonius. It is longer than either of its models, and could be seen as a substitute for a lengthy single combat, such as that between Hector and Achilles, which does not occur in Apollonius' own battles.

The boxing match thus combines allusions to predecessors in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with references to the situation in the later part of the *Odyssey*. However, the allusions to the two passages are kept more rigorously separate than in the shipwreck or sacrifice. Indeed, the very division of the match into two rounds makes its relationship to the two models plain, since the first round depends more on the *Iliad*, and the second on the *Odyssey*. Nevertheless, the match is not simply a conflation of its two predecessors. Some details found in the Homeric matches are not taken up by Apollonius; for example, he does not have the boxers put on special belts (cf. Il. 23.683). He also introduces new material; the blow Amycus aims from above, which is deflected by Polydeuces (2.90–94), and Amycus' falling on his knee (2.96) have no close Homeric equivalent.

The fight on the shores of Bithynia is even-handed in its use of its two models. Apollonius' fusion of the formal competition at the funeral games and the brawl between two beggars acknowledges both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and also the ambivalent mood of a myth which could be either serious or comic. However, the serious implications of the Homeric fights are also transferred to the match in the *Argonautica*, as it demonstrates the close relationship in epic between boxing and large-scale combat; these implications are absent from Theocritus' parallel account.

2.63 . . . ὦκα δ' ἱμάντας
ἀμφέδεον, μάλα πολλὰ παρηγορέοντες ἐς ἀλκήν. . . .
67 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἱμᾶσι διασταδὸν ἠρτύναντο,
αὐτίκ' ἀνασχόμενοι ῥεθέων προπάροιθε βαρείας
χεῖρας, ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μένος φέρον ἀντιόωντες. . . .
78 στῆ ῥ' ἄμοτον καὶ χερσὶν ἐναντία χεῖρας ἔμιξεν. . . .
82 . . . ὣς τοῖσι παρήϊά τ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν
καὶ γένυες κτύπεον, βρυχὴ δ' ὑπετέλλετ' ὀδόντων
ἄσπετος. οὐδ' ἔλληξαν ἐπισταδὸν οὐτάζοντες,
ἔστε περ οὐλοὸν ἆσθμα καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἐδάμασσε.
στάντε δὲ βαιὸν ἄπωθεν ἀπωμόρξαντο μετώπων
ἱδρῶ ἄλις, καματηρὸν ἀϋτμένα φυσιόωντε. . . .

91 (Amycus) . . . κὰδ δὲ βαρεῖαν
χεῖρ' ἐπὶ οἷ πελέμιξεν. . . .
95 (Polydeuces) κόψε μεταΐγδην ὑπὲρ οὔατος, ὀστέα δ' εἴσω
ῥῆξεν· ὁ δ' ἀμφ' ὀδύνῃ γνὺξ ἤριπεν. . . .

(. . . [they] quickly tied the thongs, offering many words of encouragement for the battle ahead. When they had each separately been equipped with thongs, they put up their heavy fists in front of their faces and came fiercely to meet each other. . . . [Polydeuces] stood his ground, swapping blow for blow. . . . just so on both sides was heard the thud of cheeks and jaws and a terrible shattering of teeth. They did not call a halt to the exchange of wounds until both were overcome by breathlessness and exhaustion. Standing a little distance apart, they wiped the pouring sweat from their faces, panting with weariness. . . . [Amycus] crashed his heavy fist down on his opponent. . . . [Polydeuces] with a sudden assault struck him above the ear, shattering the bones inside his head. Amycus fell forward on his knees in pain. . . .)

Il. 23.673
(Epeius) ἀντικρὺ χρόα τε ῥήξω σύν τ' ὀστέ' ἀράξω.

('I will smash right through the man's skin and shatter his bones.')
(though cf. Od. 18.96
. . . ὁ δ' αὐχέν' ἔλασσεν ὑπ' οὔατος, ὀστέα δ' εἴσω
ἔθλασεν·)

Il. 23.681 τὸν μὲν Τυδεΐδης δουρικλυτὸς ἀμφεπονεῖτο
θαρσύνων ἔπεσιν, μέγα δ' αὐτῷ βούλετο νίκην.
ζῶμα δέ οἱ πρῶτον παρακάββαλεν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
δῶκεν ἱμάντας ἐϋτμήτους βοὸς ἀγραύλοιο.
τὼ δὲ ζωσαμένω βήτην ἐς μέσσον ἀγῶνα,
ἄντα δ' ἀνασχομένω χερσὶ στιβαρῇσιν ἅμ' ἄμφω
σύν ῥ' ἔπεσον, σὺν δέ σφι βαρεῖαι χεῖρες ἔμιχθεν.
δεινὸς δὲ χρόμαδος γενύων γένετ', ἔρρεε δ' ἱδρὼς
πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων· ἐπὶ δ' ὄρνυτο δῖος Ἐπειός,
κόψε δὲ παπτήναντα παρήϊον· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν
ἑστήκειν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὑπήριπε φαίδιμα γυῖα.

(Tydeus' son, the famous spearman, busied around Euryalus as his second, speaking encouragement to him and eager for his victory. First he put out a loin-cloth for him, then gave him the leather thongs well cut from the hide of a field ox. The two men belted themselves and walked out into the centre of the gathering. They faced each other and put up their massive fists together, then fell to, and there was a flurry of heavy hands meeting. There sounded a fearful crunching of jaws, and the sweat poured all over their bodies. Then as Euryalus peered for an opening godlike Epeius moved in for the punch and struck him on the cheekbone—he did not stay on his feet long: his bright body collapsed under him where he stood.)

2.57 (Amycus) δαεὶς δέ κεν ἄλλῳ ἐνίσποις
ὅσσον ἐγὼ ῥινούς τε βοῶν περίειμι ταμέσθαι

ἀζαλέας ἀνδρῶν τε παρηΐδας αἵματι φύρσαι.
('. . . you will be able to tell others of my surpassing skill at cutting the dried hide of bulls and smearing the cheeks of men with blood.')
Od. 18.20 (Odysseus to Irus)

. . . μή με χολώσῃς,
μή σε γέρων περ ἐὼν στῆθος καὶ χείλεα φύρσω
αἵματος·

('Do not go too far and rouse my anger or—old as I am—I may dabble your chest and lips with blood;')

2.55 (Amycus, of the ἱμάντες)

τῶνδέ τοι ὅν κ' ἐθέλῃσθα πάλου ἄτερ ἐγγυαλίξω

('I willingly grant you whichever you want, without the need for a lot. . . .')
Od. 18.47 (Antinous, of the victor's prize)

τάων ἥν κ' ἐθέλῃσιν ἀναστὰς αὐτὸς ἑλέσθω·

('. . . let him stand up boldly and take his choice. . . .')

2.67 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἱμᾶσι διασταδὸν ἠρτύναντο,
αὐτίκ' ἀνασχόμενοι ῥεθέων προπάροιθε βαρείας
χεῖρας, ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μένος φέρον ἀντιόωντες. . . .
90 ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτ' Ἄμυκος μὲν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀερθεὶς
βουτύπος οἷα πόδεσσι τανύσσατο, κὰδ δὲ βαρεῖαν
χεῖρ' ἐπὶ οἷ πελέμιξεν· ὁ δ' ἀΐσσοντος ὑπέστη,
κρᾶτα παρακλίνας, ὤμῳ δ' ἀνεδέξατο πῆχυν
τυτθόν. ὁ δ' ἄγχ' αὐτοῖο παρὲκ γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων
κόψε μεταΐγδην ὑπὲρ οὔατος, ὀστέα δ' εἴσω
ῥῆξεν· ὁ δ' ἀμφ' ὀδύνῃ γνὺξ ἤριπεν·

(When they had each separately been equipped with thongs, they put up their heavy fists in front of their faces and came fiercely to meet each other. . . . Amycus stretched himself up on his toes like a man going to slaughter an ox, and crashed his heavy fist down on his opponent; Polydeuces, however, withstood the assault by tilting his head to one side, and the blow just struck his shoulder. He then stepped close to his opponent by swinging his leg forward, and with a sudden assault struck him above the ear, shattering the bones inside his head. Amycus fell forward on his knees in pain. . . .)
Od. 18.56 (Odysseus)

μή τις ἐπ' Ἴρῳ ἦρα φέρων ἐμὲ χειρὶ βαρείῃ
πλήξῃ ἀτασθάλλων. . . .
89 τὼ δ' ἄμφω χεῖρας ἀνέσχον. . . .
95 δὴ τότ' ἀνασχομένω ὁ μὲν ἤλασε δεξιὸν ὦμον
Ἶρος, ὁ δ' αὐχέν' ἔλασσεν ὑπ' οὔατος, ὀστέα δ' εἴσω
ἔθλασεν· αὐτίκα δ' ἦλθε κατὰ στόμα φοίνιον αἷμα. . . .

('. . . so that no one, wishing to favour Irus, may presume to strike me with heavy hand . . .' . . . both of the fighters raised their fists. . . . And now the pair drew themselves up; Irus struck Odysseus' right shoulder, but Odysseus struck his challenger's neck below the ear, crushing the bones inside; a stream of blood gushed through Irus' mouth. . . .)

2.137 νήπιοι, οὐδ' ἐνόησαν ὃ δή σφισιν ἐγγύθεν ἄλλο
πῆμ' ἀΐδηλον ἔην.

(The poor fools did not know what other unexpected misfortune was close at hand!)

Od. 22.32 τὸ δὲ νήπιοι οὐκ ἐνόησαν,
ὡς δή σφιν καὶ πᾶσιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφῆπτο.

(Fools that they were, unperceiving that the chains of doom were fastened about them one and all!)

(cf. also

Il. 22.445 νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησεν ὅ μιν μάλα τῆλε λοετρῶν
χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος δάμασε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.)

(Poor child, she did not know that far away from any baths bright-eyed Athena had brought him down at the hands of Achilles.)

3. *Shipwrecks and Storms at Sea: 2.1097–1121*

This passage is quoted, together with relevant passages from the *Odyssey*, on pp. 79–81 at the end of this section.

The dangers of sea travel in the ancient world are reflected in the popularity of storms at sea in Greek epic, both directly in the narrative and in similes.[43] Two shipwrecks are described in detail in the *Odyssey* (Od. 5.291–332, Od. 12.403–25); at Od. 9.67–78 a storm at sea threatens to have a similar outcome but does not, and could be described as a 'frustrated shipwreck'. The structure of these storms is similar enough for them to be seen as instances of a pattern. The plot of the *Argonautica* does not allow the Argo to be shipwrecked,[44] and so Odyssean 'shipwreck material' must be used in some other way if it is to be incorporated at all. It appears most extensively in the shipwreck of the sons of Phrixus on the island of Ares at the end of Book 2, which conforms closely to the pattern established by the Homeric scenes.[45]

There is of necessity a certain amount of shared vocabulary in all the passages concerning wind, waves and ships; however, some lines

[43] On this topos, cf. M. P. O. Morford, *The Poet Lucan* (Oxford: 1967) 20–58; however, he wrongly assumes (p. 22) that all the details of Apollonius' scene are taken from the *Odyssey*. For Homer, cf. A. Lesky, *Thalatta: der Weg der Griechen zum Meer* (Vienna: 1947) 165–74, 179–81.

[44] The Argo is said to be invincible at 2.614.

[45] On the structure and significance of the scene, cf. M. F. Williams, *Landscape in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Frankfurt: 1991) 220–26, who sees it as 'an effort to conform to epic tradition', but considers it to be stylistically divergent from Homeric storms. She comments (pp. 224–25) on the use of martial language in the episode.

can be derived with greater certainty from particular passages in Homer. *Odyssey* 5 contributes the introductory line giving the location of the ship (2.1097, Od. 5.288), the obscurity and cloud (2.1104–5, Od. 5.293–94, though the Odyssean lines appear also at Od. 9.68–69), and the rising up of the wave (2.1102, Od. 5.296) with ὄρνυμι 'stir up' substituted for κυλίνδω 'roll'. The sailors are borne helplessly along at 2.1113–14 as at Od. 5.327 though there are no unusual shared words. Od. 5.363–71 also contributes τινάσσω 'shake' (2.1100, Od. 5.363, Od. 5.368), (δια-)(σ)κεδάννυμι 'scatter' (2.1112, Od. 5.369, 370) and δούρατα 'timbers' (2.1111, Od. 5.370, Od. 5.371). Like Odysseus, the sons of Phrixus stay afloat by clinging to a piece of their shattered ship (2.1110–12, Od. 5.371, cf. also Od. 12.424–25). Some of the vocabulary here is found earlier in *Odyssey* 5, when Odysseus is building his craft; δοῦρα (2.1111, Od. 5.243), θοῶς/θοός (2.1112, Od. 5.243)[46] and γόμφος 'peg' (2.1112, Od. 5.248). Paradoxically, the ship is described as συναρηρότα γόμφοις 'held together by pegs' (2.1112) after it has disintegrated; this extends the irony of the care Odysseus takes in building his craft only for it to be smashed to pieces less than a hundred lines later. This is achieved by mentioning the way the ship is constructed within the shipwreck scene itself.

From *Odyssey* 9 come Zeus' rousing of Boreas (2.1098, Od. 9.67), and the obscuring with cloud (2.1104–5, Od. 9.68–69, though cf. Od. 5.293–94).[47] The sailors' fear of death is expressed at 2.1106 and Od. 9.72 with ὄλεθρον 'destruction' at line-end. The force of the wind tears apart the ship (2.1108–9, Od. 9.71); Apollonius scales down the Homeric τριχθά τε καὶ τετραχθά 'into three and four pieces' to διάνδιχ(α) 'in two' and changes ἴς 'strength' to μένος. (-)ὄρνυμι is used in both passages, but of wind in Homer (Od. 9.67) and of waves in Apollonius (2.1102). ἱστία 'sails' (2.1108, Od. 9.70) replaces ἱστός 'mast' (Od. 5.316, Od. 12.409). There is less from *Odyssey* 12, but it supplies two items of vocabulary. ἀχλύς (2.1103) 'mist' derives from ἤχλυσε 'grew dark' (Od. 12.406) with a change from verb to noun. Both passages use κεκληγώς 'screaming' of the wind at line-beginning (2.1103, Od. 12.408).

---

[46] The meaning is, however, different; not 'swift' as at Od. 5.243 but 'sharp' as at Od. 15.299, and 2.79 (also of γόμφοι), 3.1281, 3.1318, 3.1321, 4.733 and 4.1683; cf. R. C. Seaton, "On the Imitation of Homer by Apollonius Rhodius," *Journal of Philology* 19 (1891), 10. Often in Apollonius it means 'swift' with θοὸς ναῦς 'swift ship' being almost formulaic (1.111, 2.71, 2.533, 2.895, 2.1045, 4.101, 4.857).

[47] However, the motif is adapted to suit night time; cf. Lesky (1947), 259.

Thus three Homeric passages are combined in the account of the storm, but as with the sacrifice in Book 1, the similarities to any one of them are scattered through the scene rather than occurring together. Non-Homeric vocabulary is introduced, especially at 2.1101 and 2.1104–5,[48] even though these lines also rework two lines of Homer. In the process some of the vividness of Homer's scenes is lost, and there is no equivalent to, for example, Odysseus submerged and spitting out seawater in *Odyssey* 5, or the sailors falling from the ship as it is struck by a thunderbolt in *Odyssey* 12. The most notable innovation in Apollonius is the rainstorm (2.1115–17).

The structure of the scenes may be compared as follows:

	Arg. 2	Od. 5	Od. 9	Od. 12
Indication of place	1097	279–81	—	403–4
A god raises storm	1098–105	282–96	67–69	405–8
Reaction of sailors	1106–7	297–312	—	—
Damage to ship	1108–9	313–18	70–71	409–19
Escape of sailors	1110–14 1118–20	319–75	72–75	420–25
Storm dies	1120–21	383–84	76–78	426–27

As often, Apollonius tells the same incident from two or more different viewpoints; Argus later describes the shipwreck to the Argonauts (2.1125–27).[49] There is, however, little direct reference to Homer; instead δούρατα (cf. 2.1111) and ἐκέδασσαν (cf. 2.1112) recall Apollonius' account of the storm. We have not, however, heard the last of the shipwreck at the end of Book 2. Argus mentions it again twice during his speech to Aeetes at 3.320–66 (pp. 80–81).[50] The main words in this account which are shared with the Homeric shipwrecks are δούρατι 'timber', κῦμα 'wave' and νυκτί 'night', the first two of which also occur in the shipwreck in Book 2. As before,

[48] ἀήσυρος 'light' A. Pr. 452, Call. fr. 311, ἀκρεμών 'branch' E. Cyc. 455, Simon. ap. AP 7.24.8, Theoc. 16.96, διαυγής 'shining' in poetry first at Call. h. 5.21, σκοτόεις 'dark' first at Hes. WD 555.

[49] For example in the narrator's and Hypsipyle's versions of events on Lemnos, and the part of the narrative in Book 2 which is foretold by Phineus and later told to Lycus (cf. Fusillo (1985), 28–32). The retelling of the same events from different viewpoints is a Homeric technique which Apollonius exploits; on its use in the *Iliad*, cf. de Jong (1987), 151–60, 208–19.

[50] Campbell's emphasis (Campbell, *Studies*, 30) on the wordiness of the speech is also illustrated by the twofold mention of the shipwreck, especially when the reader has already heard about it twice!

Apollonius appears to be alluding to himself as much as to Homer, especially in the relationship between 3.322–23 and 2.1118–20, and in the use of such words as γόμφοις (3.343, cf. 2.1112) and πνοιῇ 'blast' (3.343, cf. 2.1103). This passage also recalls, more remotely, Odysseus' speech to the Cyclops Polyphemus at Od. 9.283–86 and is one of several echoes of that book in this part of the *Argonautica*.[51] Like Odysseus, Argus is explaining his presence to someone who is hostile to him, though unlike Odysseus he is telling the truth. He takes the same number of lines to do so but expresses himself in completely different words, though the Homeric word order is imitated with the word for 'ship' coming first. The attribution of divine intervention is changed; in the *Odyssey* Odysseus says that Poseidon caused the shipwreck but offers no explanation of how he and his men managed to survive, whereas Argus gives storms as the cause of the shipwreck but believes that a god saved him and his brothers;[52] this is in keeping with the lack of divine opposition to the expedition throughout the poem.

The various passages dealing with the shipwreck of Argus and the other sons of Phrixus thus combine parallels to several books of the *Odyssey* with allusions between themselves. Apollonius again creates his own kind of 'formularity', though it is of a much more relaxed nature than Homer's. Both poets explore different points of view in the various scenes which deal with shipwreck. In *Odyssey* 9 and 12 Odysseus himself describes events, whereas in *Odyssey* 5 they are told by the narrator. The shipwreck in the *Argonautica* is described both by the poet and by one of the characters (on two occasions); instead of several similar incidents, one incident is described several times. This differs from Apollonius' practice in dealing with the boxing match and the sacrifice; in this case he is not content with including one scene to replace more than one Homeric original, but depicts the same scene from different angles. When it occurs in the main narrative, its debt to Homeric shipwrecks is clear; when it is described later by Argus, he recalls the event in Apollonius' own words rather than Homer's.

While the shipwrecks and storms in the *Odyssey* are combined in the one shipwreck in the *Argonautica*, this does not exhaust Apollonius'

---

[51] They are listed by Campbell, *Studies*, 105, n. 5. Cf. pp. 133–34.
[52] Cf. p. 287.

use of this Homeric material, and in particular the shipwreck scene in *Odyssey* 5. Odysseus' shipwreck after leaving Calypso's island is also an important model for the passage of the Wandering Rocks (the most striking resemblance being the comparison to a sea-bird which is transferred from Ino to the Nereids),[53] but also influences the pendant scene at the Symplegades.[54] It may seem surprising that this scene is so prominent at the passage of the Wandering Rocks, since the passage of the Symplegades requires considerably more effort on the part of the Argonauts than the easy journey through the Wandering Rocks, and so is closer in mood to the struggles of Odysseus in and after the storm. However, the Symplegades come not long before the shipwreck of the sons of Phrixus, where *Odyssey* 5 is also used, and Apollonius may be avoiding identifying the Argonauts with the shipwrecked Odysseus shortly before he compares the sons of Phrixus to him. The passage of the Wandering Rocks also comes at the heart of the 'Odyssean' part of Book 4, not very long after the Argonauts themselves have passed close to Calypso's island (4.573–75), and so the allusions to *Odyssey* 5 fit into a matrix of references to Odysseus' various travels.

Two other interruptions to the voyage also make use of *Odyssey* 5. As already said above, the Argo cannot be broken in the way in which Odysseus' craft are; the only physical damage to its fittings comes when Heracles breaks an oar through over-enthusiasm, and has to uproot a tree to replace it (1.1161–71), and when the stern is clipped by the Symplegades (2.601–2). The snapping of the oar, which makes Heracles fall off his rowing-bench, draws on *Odyssey* 5,[55] but the echoes of this book of the *Odyssey* continue into the ensuing events on land, where both Heracles' search (βῆ ῥ ἴμεν εἰς ὕλην . . . εὗρεν 'he went into the forest . . . he found.' (1.1188–90, cf. Od. 5.475) and Polyphemus' fear that Hylas has fallen prey to wild beasts (μή (. . .) θήρεσσιν ἕλωρ 1.1251, cf. Od. 5.473) recall Odysseus' actions and feelings on the shores of Scheria.[56] This is a good example of

---

[53] 4.966–67/Od. 5.337, 353; on the ambiguity of bird similes in Homer, cf. S. H. Lonsdale, *Creatures of Speech: Lion Herding and Hunting Similes in the Iliad* (Stuttgart: 1990) 115–17. Cf. also 4.772/Od. 5.381, 4.787/Od. 5.317, 4.924/Od. 5.320.

[54] Most importantly, 2.580 (and 594)/Od. 5.296. Cf. also 2.582/Od. 5.283.

[55] 1.1167–71/Od. 5.315–17 (the rudder falls from Odysseus' hands). Cf. also 1.1174/Od. 5.453.

[56] Cf. also <u>ἀμφοτέρῃσι</u> περὶ στύπος ἔλ<u>λαβε</u> <u>χερσὶν</u> 'he placed both arms around the trunk' (1.1197)/<u>ἀμφοτέρῃσι</u> δὲ <u>χερσὶν</u> ἐπεσσύμενος <u>λάβε</u> πέτρης 'as he swept forward, he seized the rock with both hands' (Od. 5.428).

the way Apollonius' allusions to a particular part of Homer can extend beyond events which are obviously similar into their context.

Another appearance of the shipwreck material from *Odyssey* 5 comes when the Argonauts are becalmed in Libya in Book 4. Here they are trapped, but without the loss of their ship. The speech by an unidentified Argonaut at 4.1251–56 recalls that of Odysseus at Od. 5.299–312, wishing that the speaker had died in an earlier adventure and ending by contrasting that wish with the grim fate which he is now likely to meet. But both the Argonauts and Odysseus are rescued by goddesses, who take pity (4.1308, Od. 5.336) and intervene in a speech beginning with the words κάμμορε, τίπτ' 'Unhappy man, why? . . .' (4.1318, Od. 5.339). The Homeric parallel emphasises a characteristic change; Ino correctly attributes Odysseus' plight to Poseidon's anger, but the Libyan goddesses see the Argonauts as their own worst enemies. The helpful goddesses explain how to escape by carrying something (Ino's band, the Argo). Both Ino and the Libyan goddess are described as αὐδήεσσα/αι 'endowed with speech' (4.1322, Od. 5.334).

Why is the scene in *Odyssey* 5 so much more important to Apollonius than the other two Odyssean scenes which I have considered? One obvious reason is that it is longer, including Ino's intervention and speeches by her and by Odysseus; in *Odyssey* 9 there is only a storm, and the storm which parts Odysseus from his remaining companions in *Odyssey* 12 is also short. This may in turn be because Odysseus' shipwreck in *Odyssey* 5 comes at a critical point in the poem; it ends the first of Odysseus' voyages to be described (which is accordingly echoed as the Argonauts set sail from Thessaly; cf. p. 222), and leaves him on the shores of Scheria, beginning his transition back to the Greek world.[57] Some of the scenes in the *Argonautica* which allude to *Odyssey* 5 are transitional themselves, most obviously the passage through the Symplegades and the becalming in Libya (cf. pp. 42, 127), two points where the expedition seems especially likely to fail.

Apollonius treats the shipwreck in *Odyssey* 5 in the same way as he treats other Homeric scenes which appear more than once in the *Argonautica*. Elements of the Homeric scene which are not used in the *Argonautica*'s own shipwreck, such as the appearance of Ino or Odysseus' losing his grip on the rudder, are incorporated into other scenes.

---

[57] On the transitional nature of this voyage, cf. C. Segal, "The Phaeacians and the Symbolism of Odysseus' Return," *Arion* 1 (1962), 17–64, especially 21.

The description of the shipwreck itself blends echoes of *Odyssey* 5 with those of two other similar scenes, and is later described twice, giving further opportunites to allude both to the *Argonautica* itself and to the *Odyssey*.

2.1097 καὶ δὴ ἔσαν νήσοιο μάλα σχεδὸν ἤματι κείνῳ,
Ζεὺς δ' ἀνέμου Βορέαο μένος κίνησεν ἀῆναι,
ὕδατι σημαίνων διερὴν ὁδὸν Ἀρκτούροιο.
αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἠμάτιος μὲν ἐν οὔρεσι φύλλ' ἐτίνασσε
τυτθὸν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀήσυρος ἀκρεμόνεσσι·
νυκτὶ δ' ἔβη πόντον δὲ πελώριος, ὦρσε δὲ κῦμα
κεκληγὼς πνοιῇσι. κελαινὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἀχλὺς
ἄμπεχεν, οὐδέ πη ἄστρα διαυγέα φαίνετ' ἰδέσθαι
ἐκ νεφέων, σκοτόεις δὲ περὶ ζόφος ἠρήρειστο.
οἱ δ' ἄρα μυδαλέοι, στυγερὸν τρομέοντες ὄλεθρον,
υἱῆες Φρίξοιο φέρονθ' ὑπὸ κύμασιν αὔτως.
ἱστία δ' ἐξήρπαξ' ἀνέμου μένος ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὴν
νῆα διάνδιχ' ἔαξε τινασσομένην ῥοθίοισιν.
ἔνθα δ' ὑπ' ἐννεσίῃσι θεῶν πίσυρές περ ἐόντες
δούρατος ὠρέξαντο πελωρίου, οἷά τε πολλὰ
ῥαισθείσης κεκέδαστο θοοῖς συναρηρότα γόμφοις.
καὶ τοὺς μὲν νῆσον δέ, παρὲξ ὀλίγον θανάτοιο,
κύματα καὶ ῥιπαὶ ἀνέμου φέρον ἀσχαλόωντας·

(On that day they had been very close to the island when Zeus stirred up the blast of the North Wind and his rain signalled the watery passage of Arcturus. During the day the wind was soft and gently shook the leaves on the topmost branches of the mountain trees, but at night it fell fiercely upon the sea and the roaring blasts roused the waves. Dark mist filled the heavens, no bright stars appeared anywhere through the clouds, and all around a gloomy blackness pressed them. Soaked to the skin and fearful of a miserable end, the sons of Phrixus were carried aimlessly on the waves. The force of the wind tore out the sail and even broke the ship itself in two after it had been battered by the swell. With the help of the gods the four of them clung to one of those mighty planks which had been held together by sharp bolts, but which came loose as the ship broke up; narrowly avoiding death, they were carried in despair towards the island by the waves and the gusts of wind.)

Od. 5.288 καὶ δὴ Φαιήκων γαίης σχεδόν....
293 ... σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε
γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ.
σὺν δ' Εὖρός τε Νότος τ' ἔπεσον Ζέφυρός τε δυσαὴς
καὶ Βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης, μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων....
313 ὣς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντ' ἔλασεν μέγα κῦμα κατ' ἄκρης,
δεινὸν ἐπεσσύμενον, περὶ δὲ σχεδίην ἐλέλιξε.
τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ σχεδίης αὐτὸς πέσε, πηδάλιον δὲ
ἐκ χειρῶν προέηκε· μέσον δέ οἱ ἱστὸν ἔαξε

δεινὴ μισγομένων ἀνέμων ἐλθοῦσα θύελλα· . . .
327 τὴν δ' ἐφόρει μέγα κῦμα κατὰ ῥόον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

('. . . and now he is near the Phaeacian land; . . .' . . . [Poseidon] swathed earth and sea alike in cloud; down from the sky rushed the dark. East and south wind clashed together, the stormy west and the sky-born billow-driving north. . . . As he finished speaking, a monstrous wave crashed over him from above, driving upon him violently and whirling his raft round and round. He was thrown out clear of the raft, having let the steering-oar slip from his hands. A hideous tempest of wrestling winds descended on him, snapping his mast in two. . . . This way and that, the monstrous wave kept sweeping the craft along with it. . . .)

Od. 9.67 νηυσὶ δ' ἐπῶρσ' ἄνεμον Βορέην νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς
λαίλαπι θεσπεσίῃ, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε
γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ.
αἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐφέροντ' ἐπικάρσιαι, ἱστία δέ σφιν
τριχθά τε καὶ τετραχθὰ διέσχισεν ἲς ἀνέμοιο.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς νῆας κάθεμεν δείσαντες ὄλεθρον,
αὐτὰς δ' ἐσσυμένως προερέσσαμεν ἤπειρόνδε.
ἔνθα δύς νύκτας δύο τ' ἤματα συνεχὲς αἰεὶ
κείμεθ'. . . .

('But Zeus who masses the clouds now sent a north wind upon our vessels in hideous tempest, veiling earth and sea alike with cloud; and blackness rushed down from heaven. The ships plunged head-foremost. The sails were ripped into three strips, four strips by the great hurricane, so in fear of death we lowered them into the hold and with might and main rowed for land. On land, for two nights and two days together, we lay. . . .')

Od. 12.405 δὴ τότε κυανέην νεφέλην ἔστησε Κρονίων
νηὸς ὕπερ γλαφυρῆς, ἤχλυσε δὲ πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς.
ἡ δ' ἔθει οὐ μάλα πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον· αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθε
κεκληγὼς Ζέφυρος, μεγάλῃ σὺν λαίλαπι θύων,

('. . . when the son of Kronos stretched a black cloud above our hollow ship and the sea grew dark beneath it. The ship ran on for a little while; then suddenly came a whistling west wind, raging and tempestuous. . . .')

3.320 Αἰήτη, κείνην μὲν ἄφαρ διέχευαν ἄελλαι
ζαχρηεῖς, αὐτοὺς δ' ὑπὸ δούρατι πεπτηῶτας
νήσου Ἐνυαλίοιο ποτὶ ξερὸν ἔκβαλε κῦμα
λυγαίῃ ὑπὸ νυκτί. θεὸς δέ τις ἄμμ' ἐσάωσεν. . . .
343 . . . ἡ δ' ἐνὶ γόμφοις
ἴσχεται, ἣν καὶ πᾶσαι ἐπιβρίσωσιν ἄελλαι.

('Aeetes, fierce storms soon ripped apart our ship, and as we huddled clinging to a plank in the blackness of night a wave threw us on to dry land on the island of Enyalios. Some god brought us to safety. . . . Their ship, on the other hand, holds firm in its bolts, even if storm winds from every direction should assault it.')

2.1118 ... κύματος ὁρμὴ
υἷας Φρίξοιο μετ' ἠϊόνας βάλε νήσου
νύχθ' ὑπὸ λυγαίην....
1125 'πόντῳ γὰρ τρηχεῖαι ἐπιβρίσασαι ἄελλαι
νηὸς ἀεικελίης διὰ δούρατα πάντ' ἐκέδασσαν....'

(... the sons of Phrixus ... were thrown by the force of the waves on to the coast of the island.... '... Harsh storm winds swept on to the sea and scattered all the planks of the wretched ship....')

Od. 5.402 ῥόχθει γὰρ μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ ξερὸν ἠπείροιο....

(... the heavy breakers dashed themselves on the solid coast....)

Od. 9.283 νέα μέν μοι κατέαξε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων....

('My ship was shattered by Poseidon, the Earthshaker....')

The three types of scene considered in this chapter all share vocabulary and structure with their various Homeric prototypes, but differ in the number of their models and the proportions in which they are used. The sacrifice draws on one scene extensively, and to a lesser extent on another one; the boxing match also has two principal models, whose contributions to it are about equal and easily distinguished from one another. The shipwreck uses three Homeric passages, but allusions to them are mixed together and the situation is further complicated as the shipwreck itself is described in several passages in the *Argonautica*. In these cases the sources of Apollonius' scenes are clear, because the subject-matter is shared; other examples which will be considered later will show how Homeric material can be transformed into a very different shape.

CHAPTER THREE

BATTLE SCENES

The extended battle scene in Homer resembles the 'typical scene' or recurrent scene which was discussed in the previous chapter, since it deals with a defined activity whose various occurrences in the epic resemble one another more than the subject matter requires, because of certain conventions and patterns which regulate them. Fighting is the Iliadic activity *par excellence*, and the central part of the *Iliad* could be described as continuous fighting, broken by interludes off the field of combat. Within Homeric battle scenes we can identify actions which are described according to a set pattern, such as arming, and passages which belong to certain types, such as the *aristeia* of a particular warrior or the 'catalogue' of a number of killings which are briefly described. The greatest part of these scenes is composed of single combats, which themselves can be shown to make use of certain patterns and avoid others.[1]

In the *Odyssey*, the only extended description of fighting is the indoor battle of Odysseus and his allies against the Suitors. Though the *Argonautica*'s subject matter aligns it more with the *Odyssey* in general, it contains several battle scenes which deploy some of the Homeric conventions and allude to others. These are spaced through the four books, the lengthiest being the battles against the Doliones and the Bebryces, and Jason's *aristeia* in Colchis (which can be analysed as a battle scene). Other shorter scenes in this category include the defeat of the six-armed monsters of Cyzicus in Book 1 and the rout of the Colchians following the death of Apsyrtus in Book 4. The inclusion of battles is one way of lessening the imbalance in the poem's relationship to the two Homeric epics, by making it an *Iliad* as well as an *Odyssey*.

---

[1] Cf. for example B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad: Studies in the Narrative Techniques of Homeric Battle Description* (Wiesbaden: 1968), H. Patzer, "Dichterische Kunst und poetisches Handwerk im homerischen Epos," *Sitzungsber. der Wiss. Ges. an der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe Univ.* 10 (1971), 1–50, T. Krischer, *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik* (Munich: 1971) 23–89, Tsagarakis (1982), 104–33, G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: a Commentary v. II: Books 5–8* (Cambridge: 1990) 21–26.

The battles in the *Argonautica* are not different actions in a single campaign, but independent scenes against different opponents. As as result, much of the paraphernalia of Iliadic battles is absent; only Aeetes has a chariot, and the Argonauts have no permanent camp (though they do have a ship to defend) and no opportunity to dig ditches or build walls. Another, structural, consequence is that the overall place of the battle scenes within the narrative differs from that in the *Iliad.* The three long scenes become successively more experimental; the scene in Book 2 is more impressionistic than that in Book 1, and Book 3 uses typical elements such as similes and arming scenes to create a different sort of battle, against bizarre opponents. The final battle scene in Book 4 (4.485–89) is condensed to the bare minimum, with no names given, and the action entirely described by similes.

The extended battle scenes in Books 1 and 2 are constructed differently from one another. In Book 1 an extended single combat is followed by a catalogue of deaths, whereas in Book 2 there is a series of killings which are each briefly described. Both scenes end, like that in Book 4 and the fight against the Earthborn in Book 1, with the routing of the enemy, described by similes; in Book 3 much of the action is described in this way.[2] The battle scenes in the poem all use similes differently; in Book 1 they frame the battle, in Book 2 they appear as a sequence at the end, they are scattered liberally through the scene in Book 3, and in Book 4, despite their brevity, they take over the narrative altogether. However, in general these similes resemble prototypes in Homer's battles.

The battles do not result in the death of any Argonaut, a one-sidedness whose only Homeric parallel is the fighting of Odysseus and Telemachus against the Suitors. However, of the fighting against human combatants in the *Argonautica,* only the conflict with the Bebryces has the force of justice behind it. The battle against the Doliones is a tragic mistake and that against the Colchians is the result of Jason and Medea's treacherous treatment of Apsyrtus.

Other kinds of scene are also given the characteristics of Homeric battle scenes. The sudden deaths of Idmon and Mopsus, which are

---

[2] Carspecken (1952), 91–93 notices the concentration of similes in scenes of combat, but ascribes it to Apollonius' dislike of violence as much as to a desire to vary narrative (a desire which has also been attributed to Homer). It enables Apollonius to describe lengthy action (cf. L. Gil Fernández, "La epica helenística" in *Estudios sobre el mundo helenístico* (Seville: 1971) 106–7).

parallel in other respects, are both described in these terms.[3] The Argonauts have to defend themselves with shields against the birds from the isle of Ares.[4] Like Homer, Apollonius transfers battle images to the meeting of a man and a woman, and Medea's dressing at 3.828–35, like Hera's in *Iliad* 14, recalls the conventions of arming scenes;[5] Apollonius applies the language of battle to sexual encounters, using a technique of allusion already found in both Homeric epics. The redeployment of a particular kind of material in new contexts resembles Apollonius' treatment of Odyssean shipwreck scenes, which was discussed in the previous chapter; however, it differs in that what is being alluded to is not a particular passage, but a set of conventions, which are well enough defined to be recognisable even in their new setting.

a) *Cyzicus*

The killing of the Earthborn at Cyzicus in Book 1 is dignified by some of the motifs used in battle scenes. The opponents of the Argonauts throw rocks (1.994–95), as Homeric warriors sometimes do, and as Jason does against the other Earthborn in Book 3. The phraseology of 1.1000–2 recalls battles in the *Iliad*, without any one passage predominating.[6] The simile in which the Earthborn are likened to trees which have been felled (1.1003–9) recalls the common Homeric simile type where a warrior resembles a fallen tree (e.g. Il. 4.482–87 (also set by water), Il. 13.178–80, Il. 13.389–91, Il. 16.482–86). They become prey for birds and fishes, the dread of the Homeric warrior.[7]

The Earthborn of Cyzicus resemble their counterparts at the end of Book 3 by the similarities to battle scenes in the *Iliad* in the account of their defeat. The brief conflict also prepares for the longer and more emotionally charged one against the Doliones which fol-

---

[3] On the death of Idmon at 2.824–28, (cf. Il. 13.546–49 etc.), cf. Williams (1991), 236–42, Jackson (1993), 4, and of Mopsus at 4.1524–25, cf. Il. 16.344, Il. 20.321, Od. 22.88.

[4] Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 268–73.

[5] Cf. 3.956–59 and Od. 6.130–34. On Hera's 'arming', cf. H. Erbse, "Zeus und Here auf dem Idagebirge," *Antike und Abendland* 16 (1970), 93–94, Patzer (1971), 31. On Medea's, cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 391–92.

[6] Cf. Campbell, *Echoes* ad loc.

[7] Cf. C. Segal, *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* (Leiden: 1971) 9, Griffin (1980), 115–16.

lows shortly afterwards and which is the first extended battle scene in the *Argonautica.*

There were two versions of the story of the Argonauts and the Doliones, one in which the Argonauts were welcomed, and one in which they were resisted by force. Apollonius reconciles these accounts by incorporating them both; having the Argonauts blown back to the land of their former hosts, where they fight a pitched battle with neither side recognising the other until it is too late.[8] In a similar way, in the previous major episode, on Lemnos, he combines traditions of friendship and hostility by having the Lemnian women put on their armour and hold a council of war but not actually fight the Argonauts (cf. pp. 115–16).

The narrative pattern adopted by Apollonius recalls an episode from the *Odyssey*, the double visit of Odysseus to Aeolus (cf. pp. 144–45). However, even before the battle, the episode has Iliadic colour. The Argonauts have recently passed the site of Troy as they sail up the Hellespont (1.922–35).[9] The events on Cyzicus are framed by two references to Trojan Ida; the Argonauts pass the mountain itself (1.930) and Rhea is called Ἰδαίη 'Idaean' (1.1128).[10] The Argonauts receive a typical 'heroic' welcome from their hosts, though it is tempered with caution.[11]

A further direct link to the *Iliad* is Cyzicus' wife Cleite, who comes from a Homeric family, since she is the daughter of Merops of Percote, whose sons, Adrastus and Amphius, fight at Troy.[12] This rejects an

---

[8] The Argonauts were welcomed in Deiochus according to Σ ad 1.961–63; he also told of hostility between Doliones and Argonauts (Σ ad 1037–38b; cf. Dufner (1988), 291–96). The Doliones were hostile in Ephorus and Callisthenes (Σ ad 1.1037–38b). On Apollonius' adaptation of the traditions, cf. E. Fitch, "Apollonius Rhodius and Cyzicus," *AJP* 33 (1912), 43–56, A. Hurst, "Le retour nocturne des Argonautes," *MH* 21 (1964), 232–37, Dufner (1988), 285–309.

[9] On the view of Troy from Dindymum as evoking 'Homeric values', cf. M. F. Williams (1991), 88.

[10] The identification of Rhea with Cybele and the setting on Dindymum naturally suggest the mountain in Asia Minor; the name proves to be ambiguous when the scene shifts to Crete at 1.1129. Apollonius has no Argonautic adventure at Troy itself and the episode set there in later accounts (V.F. Arg. 2.445–578, D.S. 4.49.3–6) may be a late invention; cf. J. R. Bacon, *The Voyage of the Argonauts* (London: 1925) 69.

[11] Cf. D. N. Levin, *Apollonius' Argonautica Re-Examined 1: the Neglected First and Second Books* (Leiden: 1971) 91–92.

[12] The words Μέροπος Περκωσίου 'the child of Merops of Percote' occur at the same place in the line at 1.975 and Il. 2.831. Cf. Levin (1971), 94 and n. 4, Clauss (1993), 154–55.

alternative genealogy in which Cyzicus' wife is Larisa, the daughter of Piasus of Thessaly.[13] The epithet ἐϋπλόκαμος 'with beautiful hair' used of her (which occurs only here in Apollonius) also recalls Homer.[14]

The battle represents a further synthesis of Iliadic themes and subject matter in a poem which superficially has more in common with the *Odyssey*. It continues the exploration of the *Iliad* which was begun in the catalogue of Argonauts and in Jason's cloak, but now introduces material from a type of scene characteristic of the *Iliad* rather than from a particular passage. The fighting itself takes place at night and on the seashore, unlike the battles of the *Iliad* (with the exception of the night-time killing of the Thracians in *Iliad* 10, which is hardly a formal battle). The unusual setting and the failure of the two sides to recognise one another are major differences from Iliadic battles.

Having considered the background to the battle, we must now turn to the conflict itself. The prelude to the battle is a single line describing the arming of both sides. The closest precedent for this comes not from the *Iliad* but from the battle with the Suitors in the *Odyssey* where the words τῶ . . . τεύχεα δύντε(ς) 'therefore, putting on armour. . . .' occur in the same metrical position (1.1025, Od. 22.201). There are certain similarities in the situations here; the Suitors, like the Argonauts, are fighting those whose hospitality they have recently enjoyed. The battle in the *Argonautica* is as sudden and as one-sided as that in the *Odyssey* and also involves mistaken identity, though in the *Argonautica* this occurs during the battle rather than before it. The effect is, however, very different, since the killing of the Suitors is Odysseus' justified revenge against them, whereas that of the Doliones is a tragic mistake.[15]

---

[13] Parthenius 28, possibly Euphorion (fr. 7). Apollonius follows Deiochus and Ephorus (Σ ad 1.974–76).

[14] Levin's note (Levin (1971), 94, n. 5) that ἐϋπλόκαμος is used mainly of deities is misleading, as it is used here to create a 'Homeric' atmosphere, and also looks ahead to 1.1057 (where hair is torn).

[15] Further echoes:

1.1026 σὺν δ' ἔλασαν μελίας <u>τε καὶ ἀσπίδας</u> ἀλλήλοισιν,
(With spears and shields they clashed together. . . .)
Od. 19.32 ἐσφόρεον κόρυθάς <u>τε καὶ ἀσπίδας</u> ὀμφαλοέσσας
(. . . they began to carry . . . the helmets and studded shields)
1.1054 . . . <u>ἰδόντας</u> . . .
1.1056 Κύζικον <u>ἐν κονίῃσι καὶ αἵματι πεπτηῶτα.</u>
(. . . when they saw Cyzicus . . . lying in front of them in the blood-filled dust.)
Od. 22.383 <u>τοὺς δὲ ἴδεν</u> μάλα πάντας <u>ἐν αἵματι καὶ κονίῃσι</u>
<u>πεπτεῶτας</u> πολλούς,
(But he saw [them] one and all, lying huddled in blood and dust)

Apollonius devotes most space to the death of Cyzicus, the ruler of the Doliones, in keeping with the Homeric pattern, where conflicts involving the more important warriors are described at greater length. The motif of the warrior who does not return to his widowed bride is represented most fully in Homer in the story of Iphidamas (Il. 11.221–30, Il. 11.241–45).[16] However, the most famous example of this mythological topos is Protesilaus, who is mentioned in the *Iliad* although he dies before the poem begins, and Apollonius lays stress on those features of Cyzicus' story which resemble that of the Greek hero.[17] Protesilaus is the first to die in the campaign against Troy (Il. 2.701–2); Cyzicus' death is the first to be described in the battle between Argonauts and Doliones. In the *Iliad* Protesilaus is simply said to leave behind a wife and a half-built house (Il. 2.700–1), but according to later tradition he had only one day of married life before going to Troy; this was the version of the story told in Euripides' *Protesilaus*.[18] In the *Argonautica*, Cyzicus has only recently married Cleite (1.976–77) and comes to meet the Argonauts from his bedchamber (1.978); it is left unclear whether the marriage has been consummated but, like Protesilaus', it is recent.[19] Protesilaus' ςόμος ἡμιτελής (Il. 2.701) was taken by some ancient commentators to mean that he had no children;[20] Apollonius stresses the childlessness of Cyzicus and Cleite, mentioning it in relation to both husband (1.973) and wife (1.974–75), though according to Neanthes (a contemporary of Apollonius) they had a child.[21] Like Protesilaus in Homer, Cyzicus is killed fighting on the sea-shore (1.1034, Il. 2.702). In many accounts Laodamia commits suicide out of love for her dead husband, as Cleite does.[22]

We would not expect dust on the seashore (cf. p. 87).

[16] This passage shortly precedes the killing of Cleite's two brothers by Diomedes at Il. 11.328–34. On marriage in the background of those who die at Troy, cf. Strasburger (1954), 27, Fenik (1968), 87, and on the pathos of this topos cf. Griffin (1980), 131–34.

[17] The theme of widowhood is also explored in a simile (3.656–63, cf. Hunter ad loc., A. W. James, "Apollonius Rhodius and His Sources: Interpretative Notes on the *Argonautica*," *Corolla Londiniensis* 8 (Amsterdam: 1981), 68).

[18] Σ ad Aristidem, 671f., cf. A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Leipzig: 1889), 563. Other versions stress the shortness of their married life (Luc. DMort. 27, 28, Tz. H. 2.760).

[19] In Euphorion, Cyzicus was not yet married (Σ ad 1.1063).

[20] Eustathius on Il. 2.701, 263 38–39, Σ^A ad Il. 2.701.

[21] Σ ad 1.1063.

[22] Luc. DMort. 28, Hyg. Fab. 104, Servius on Aen. 6.447, Eustathius on Il. 2.701,

Apollonius has shaped the story of Cyzicus to resemble that of Protesilaus, and in so doing recalls post-Homeric accounts of this Homeric character. This is comparable to the way in which Phineus is presented as a 'Prometheus figure'.[23] In particular, Euripides' *Protesilaus*, with its emphasis on the brevity of the hero's marriage, underlies the portrayal of Cyzicus. It is not known whether this play included Laodamia's death, though Cleite's suicide is expressed in tragic terms.

In the *Iliad*, the outstanding example of the warrior who leaves a widow, and the one for which all the others prepare, is Hector. Not only is Hector's death the most important in the *Iliad*, but, like Cyzicus, he is seen in relation to a community as well as to an army, and especially to his widow, who laments him after his death (Il. 24.725–45). Apollonius appropriates some of the *Iliad*'s sympathy for Hector, and indirectly suggests a comparison of Jason and Achilles. While this comparison is not prominent in the scene under discussion, it has already been suggested in the description of Jason's cloak, and will be made much more clearly in his victory over the Earthborn in Book 3.

There is no single Homeric combat which forms the main model for the death of Cyzicus. The encounter between Jason and Cyzicus (1.1032–35) is shorter than many in the *Iliad*; only one blow is described[24] and there is no preamble concerning the combatants, nor do they make speeches.[25] Cyzicus turns towards his attacker as warriors do at Il. 13.541–42, Il. 14.402–3, and Il. 17.227. The closest parallel for the actual blow is Il. 13.438 (= Il. 15.523, Il. 16.597), where the words στῆθος μέσον . . . δουρὶ '[he struck] the middle of his chest with his spear' occur in the same metrical position as in

---

325, Scr. rer. myth. lat. no's. I.158, II.215, Tzetzes, H.2.777–80. A link between her death and her love for Protesilaus is presupposed by her appearance at Aen. 6.447–48, amongst those who died for love.

[23] Cf. Vian I, 146–47.

[24] This type of combat occurs at e.g. Il. 13.541–44.

[25] There are no speeches by any combatants here or in the battle against the Bebryces in Book 2. M. M. Willcock, "Battle scenes in the *Aeneid*," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 29 (1983), 95–96, contrasts Homeric combats, where the participants speak, with those in Virgil, where they generally do not, and where minor warriors are less individuated; Apollonius is closer to the Virgilian pattern. On 'realism', cf. R. Ibscher, *Gestalt der Szene und Form der Rede in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss. Berlin: 1939), 124.

1.1033.[26] The detail of the bone's shattering (1.1033–34) can be paralleled from the *Iliad*, but it is there not used of chest wounds, but of the skull or arm and leg bones.[27] Thus the familiar material of Homeric combats is modified, to give a similar overall effect which melts on closer inspection. The enounter ends with a reflection on Cyzicus' fate (1.1035–39) which recalls similar Homeric expressions.[28]

The overall structure of the rest of the battle, which consists of a succession of killings by the Argonauts followed abruptly by the flight of their opponents, belongs to the pattern of φόβος in Homer (as does the battle against the Bebryces in Book 2).[29] The catalogue of those whom the Argonauts kill (1.1039–47) can be paralleled at Il. 14.511–22 and Il. 15.329–42; in Homer, as here, this kind of catalogue is associated with headlong flight.[30] Both poets list the names of the dead on one side and of their killers, varying the verbs employed meaning 'kill' or 'wound'.[31]

Some of the names of the fallen are associated with local places; Artaces appears to be the local hero of Artace (the root appears also in the spring name Ἀρτακίη at 1.957) and Zelys the eponym of Zeleia.[32] However, other names look suspiciously like Apollonius' own inventions, despite the claim that their bearers are still honoured (1.1047–48); Basileus 'king', Promeus (cf. πρόμος 'foremost' 1.1047), Megalossakes 'with a large shield', Phlogius (cf. the fire-simile at 1.1027–28), Gephyrus (literally 'Bridge-man'; cf. the Homeric phrase π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας 'bridges of war', which occurs five times in Iliadic battle scenes).[33] Some of these names are not found elsewhere in mythology.[34] The scholiast to 1.1040–41, citing Lucillus of Tarrha,

---

[26] Il. 13.438 describes the death of Alcathous, who, like Cyzicus, is described largely in terms of his marriage (Il. 13.428–33). The first two words of 1.1033 also occur in a papyrus variant of Il. 3.362 (P. Hibeh I 19 (3rd century B.C.))' <u>πληξεν επαιξας</u> κορυθος φαλ[.

[27] E.g. at Il. 12.185, Il. 16.310.

[28] Cf. Levin (1971), 102 (citing Il. 4.170), and μοῖρα πέδησεν 'fate bound him' of the approaching death of Hector at Il. 22.5. On this kind of expression cf. pp. 290–91.

[29] On this pattern, cf. Willcock (1983), 87–88.

[30] Cf. Strasburger (1954), 15–20, Fenik (1968), 10. The brevity creates parody according to Goldhill (1991), 317–18.

[31] 1.1040–46 ἐνήρατο . . . ἐνάριξεν . . . εἷλεν . . . κατέκτα . . . ἔπεφνε . . . ἕλε Il. 14.511–20 οὖτα . . . ἐξενάριξε . . . κατέκτα . . . ἐνήρατο . . . οὖτα . . . εἷλεν. On the Homeric language here, cf. Levin (1971), 102–3.

[32] Cf. F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge: 1910), 240.

[33] Hasluck (1910), 240, hazards 'perhaps the patron of the suburb at the bridge end'!

[34] Megalos(s)akes and Gephyrus, though there is a deme of Gephyreis at Athens.

claims that some names are not found in Apollonius' source.[35] The lemma for this remark appears to be 'Telecles and Megabrontes', but the comment may have originally applied to more of the Doliones, or they may simply have been chosen as typical examples because they open the catalogue of the fallen.

The invention of names for insignificant characters is not obviously inconsistent with Homeric practice. With our limited knowledge of the sources and traditions available to both Homer and Apollonius it is difficult to draw secure conclusions, but (to take one example) the seafaring names of many minor Phaeacians are probably Homer's invention.[36] By a similar process, the warlike names of the fallen Doliones could have been invented by Apollonius to be appropriate to the context. Some of these names are simply common nouns (Basileus) or are clearly derived from them (Gephyrus, Promeus, Phlogius); the use of such generalised names suggests that Apollonius is drawing attention to the disposability of minor warriors who are brought on the scene only to be killed off immediately.

Some of the names are qualified by 'Homeric' compound epithets of a kind rare in Apollonius (ἀρηΐθοος 'swift in battle' 1.1042, ἐϋμμελίης 'with a good ash spear' 1.1043); the use of these is a further similarity to the style of battle scenes in the *Iliad.* Ἐϋμμελίης occurs seven times in Homer,[37] ἀρηΐθοος three times as an adjective; the latter word is, however, also the name of warriors in Homer.[38] Apollonius uses it of Gephyrus, playing on words as a name is made out of a common noun and a Homeric name is used as an adjective (though with Homeric precedent). It is not clear that ἀρηΐθοος is an adjective and not a proper name until the reader reaches Γέφυρον at the end of the line.

The fighting is framed by two similes, each of which draws strongly on Homer (p. 118).[39] The first (1.1026–28) is of a common Homeric

---

[35] Σ^L ad 1.1039, however, claims that Sophocleius says that Deiochus named the dead. On the ambiguity of these figures, cf. Goldhill (1991), 328–29.

[36] Cf. W. B. Stanford, ed., *Homer: Odyssey* v. 1 (London: 1947) on Od. 8.111–14, J. B. Hainsworth, *A commentary on Homer's Odyssey* vol. 1 (Oxford: 1988) on Od. 8.111–17, M. W. Edwards, *Homer: Poet of the Iliad* (Baltimore: 1987) 121.

[37] Three times each in the *Iliad* of Priam and of Euphorbus (and his brother); once of Peisistratus in the *Odyssey.*

[38] E.g. Il. 7.8, Il. 7.137, Il. 20.487.

[39] On the structural rôle of the similes in this scene, cf. M. Vílchez, "La estructura formal de la comparación en las *Argonáuticas* de Apolonio de Rodas," *Emerita* 57 (1989), 25–30.

type, comparing fighting to a forest fire.[40] Apollonius' first battle simile is an exception to his usual practice with similes; there are fewer points of contact with the situation than in its Homeric model, because nothing corresponds to the thickets which the fire consumes. When considered in this way, the simile becomes very much a 'typical element' of the battle, without the careful matching to its context which is characteristic of Apollonius' similes, or rather, with care being taken instead *not* to make the simile fit the narrative.

At the end of the battle, the simile describing the flight of the Doliones (1.1049–50) is modelled on Il. 22.139–42, which again links Cyzicus' death with Hector's (p. 118). Apollonius borrows a simile from the climax of the *Iliad*, using it in a different context to describe a rout rather than one warrior pursuing another prior to combat; the hawks and doves of the simile are accordingly multiplied, which results in the inaccuracy of having hawks hunt in flocks[41] and also accounts for the only word in Apollonius' simile which has no equivalent in Homer's, ἀγεληδόν. Apollonius changes the emphasis from the speed and eagerness of the pursuer to the fear of the pursued; the vocabulary is modified by the the addition of prefixes or changes of parts of speech.[42]

The similes mark the beginning and the end of the fighting. Not only is the device itself common in Homer's battle scenes, but the debt to particular passages in the fighting of the *Iliad* is clear. The location of the similes at either end of the battle has a programmatic function; they frame a condensed version of the lengthy battle scenes of Homer, marking it off from the rest of the episode.

Afterwards, the ritual surrounding Cyzicus' funeral resembles that at Patroclus',[43] but Cyzicus is buried rather than being cremated, in a tomb which will become a landmark (1.1061–62). The Argonauts have no horses with them, so instead of riding round the corpse (as

---

[40] Cf. Il. 15.605–6 (cited by Σ ad 1.1027–28b), Il. 20.490–92. On the use of forest fire similes to illustrate destruction, cf. Fenik (1968), 20. Cf. also ῥιπῆς πυρός (Il. 21.12), of Achilles, in a simile.

[41] Cf. Clausing (1913), 40.

[42] ὠκυπέτας 'flying swiftly'/πετεηνῶν 'flying creatures', πέτετο 'flew'; ὑπετρέσαν/τρέσε 'fled'. ἠΰτε κίρκους (1.1049) recalls Il. 22.139 ἠΰτε κίρκος 'like a hawk' with the smallest of changes.

[43] Cf. Vian, N. C. on 1.1062, Williams (1991), 197 [& lit], who argues that the contrast shows the worthlessness of the Argonauts' victory.

in Il. 23.13) they have to run (1.1059). As in Homer, they make three circuits of it (1.1059–60, Il. 23.13–14), both passages using the words τρὶς περί.[44]

The funeral of Cyzicus, like that of Patroclus, is followed by games; as in Homer, the change between the two is effected in mid-line (1.1060, Il. 23.257). The games are not described in any detail, unlike those in *Iliad* 23 or *Odyssey* 8.[45] The observation that funeral games are θέμις may be understood in a poetic rather than a ritual sense as meaning 'they are what you would expect in an epic'. Apollonius teases the reader with the prospect of games, then drops it; unlike the catalogue of Argonauts or the ecphrasis of Jason's cloak, this notable ingredient of earlier epic is only hinted at in the *Argonautica*.

Like Patroclus' death, Cleite's is lamented by goddesses (the nymphs 1.1065–66, Thetis Il. 23.14), many tears are shed (1.1067–68, Il. 23.15–16) and it inspires the collective fasting which Achilles wishes to impose on the Greek troops (1.1071–72, Il. 19.145–237). However, Cleite's suicide for love of her husband is a characteristically Hellenistic type of myth (it was selected by Parthenius for his collection (Parth. 28)); the addition of a female suicide to what is already a disaster also recalls some tragic plots.[46] As explained above, the emphasis on his marriage and on the fate of his wife also characterises Cyzicus as a 'Protesilaus figure', recalling Euripides. In this way the episode is brought up to date with developments in later literature; the use of *aitia* also leaves the mood of the Homeric battle scene far behind.

The story of the widowed Cleite was attested in Apollonius' sources,[47] but its erotic content and the theme of loss link the episode to those which precede and follow it. On Lemnos, the sexual relationships of the Argonauts and the Lemnian women, like Cyzicus' and Cleite's, come to an abrupt end, and at the next landfall the

---

[44] Cf. Levin (1971), 104. The Argonauts perform a similar rite for Mopsus (4.1535–36), and the number three also appears in funerary ritual at 2.837 (three days' lament for Idmon) as at Od. 9.65; although Idmon is killed by a wild boar, and Mospus by a snake, their deaths are described like those of warriors. There is no object to ἐνεκτερέϊξαν 'buried', but νεκρόν 'corpse' or something similar must be understood; recollection of the Homeric context will make this easier.

[45] Material from those games is used elsewhere; cf. pp. 69, 101, 109, 242.

[46] Cf. N. Loraux, trans. A. Forster, *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1987) 7–30, on wives' suicides in tragedy.

[47] In Deiochus (Σ ad 1.1063). On its adaptation here, cf. A. Ardizzoni, "Cleite, ovvero la fonte delle lacrime" in *Mythos: Scripta in Honorem Marii Untersteiner* (Genoa: 1970) 37–42.

sexual attractiveness of Hylas (who, like Cleite, is associated with water) removes him from Heracles, who is possibly his lover.[48]

The effect of the Homeric elements in the battle scene and its aftermath is to emphasise the seriousness of the contest. The tragic fate of Cyzicus recalls the pathos of Homeric warriors who die leaving a widow behind, in particular Hector; the aftermath of the battle has similarities to the mourning for Patroclus. However, the treatment of battle also makes a stylistic point; by cramming so many characteristic motifs into a small space in a variety of ways Apollonius is also showing how he can experiment with and manipulate the elements of the battle narrative which takes up so much of the *Iliad*. The battle also takes account of later literature, and in particular tragedy.

b) *The Bebryces: 2.98–136*

Apollonius' exploration of the conventions of warfare continues in a different mood with the battle which arises spontaneously out of the boxing match between Polydeuces and Amycus, as Amycus' followers, the Bebryces, attempt to avenge their dead king. Like the battle in Book 1, it is a resounding success for the Argonauts, who suffer no loss. The relationship of this scene to Odysseus' slaying of the Suitors in the *Odyssey* (which continues the parallel set up by the allusions in the boxing match to *Odyssey* 18) is discussed elsewhere.

As in *Iliad* 22 and 23, fighting is juxtaposed with a boxing match, but the order is reversed. The deaths and wounds cannot be paralleled exactly in Homer and are for the most part grisly and bizarre. This type of injury may be found in the battle scenes of the *Iliad*, but examples of it are scattered and it is notable that they are generally associated with lesser warriors.[49]

2.102–4 resembles most closely those encounters where the attacker smashes his opponent's head, such as Il. 16.411–13, and Il. 16.577–

---

[48] Hylas is the beloved of Heracles in Theocritus *Idyll* 13. Beye (1982), 93–96, M. Fusillo, *Apollonio Rodio: Le Argonautiche* (Milan: 1986) on 1.1240–53 and Hunter (1993), 38–39 believe that he is in Apollonius also, but A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, eds. *Theocritus* (Cambridge: 1950) v. 2, 232, K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London: 1978) 199, Vian I, 41 and Hutchinson (1988), 193 think that he is not.

[49] On nasty injuries in the *Iliad*, cf. W.-H. Friedrich, *Verwundung und Tod in der Ilias: homerische Darstellungsweisen* (Göttingen: 1956) 52–63, Griffin (1980), 91–92.

79, both of which use the words κεφαλήν· ἡ δ' ἄνδιχα πᾶσα κεάσθη ἐν κόρυθι βριαρῇ· '. . . the head, which was smashed completely in two inside the heavy helmet. . . .'; in both cases the weapon used is a stone.[50] However, the gruesome detail of the bisected head falling half on to each shoulder is exclusively Apollonian. Unless we place a lacuna after 2.102[51] or make ἀνέρα 'man' into a proper name,[52] the anonymity of Castor's unfortunate opponent is another difference from Homeric practice, where both parties in the combat are named. However, if 'Aner' is a proper name it recalls the names made out of common nouns in the battle against the Doliones, and also resembles the occasions when Apollonius refuses to name a god who intervenes (cf. pp. 287–88).

Though the phrase ἐν κονίῃσι βάλεν 'knocked into the dust' (2.107)[53] in Polydeuces' clash with Itymoneus can be paralleled from Il. 8.156, his way of achieving this, by a kick under the chest, is unlike anything to be found in Homer. Polydeuces' choice of such an unusual method of combat is motivated by the fact that unlike the Bebryces (2.99–100) and the other Argonauts (2.101–2) he is unarmed, having just fought a boxing match, and must use whatever means he can. Nevertheless, his approach contrasts with the more dignified styles of fighting found in the *Iliad*. The same observation applies to his blow to Mimas, dealt with the hand, which removes the latter's eyelid. Possible Homeric precedents for this are Il. 13.616–17 and Il. 14.493–95 (both wounds affecting the eyes), but there is no very close parallel.[54]

The combat of Oreites and Talaos (2.110–13) resembles those in Homer where a blow is ineffectual because it is deflected by a piece of armour (for example Il. 15.528–30 (a breastplate), Il. 11.236–37 (a belt), Il. 13.552–54 and Il. 20.267–68 (shields) or, off the battlefield, Il. 4.134–40 where Menelaus is grazed by an arrow). The closest parallel is Il. 14.516–18 (pp. 118–19). The unpleasantness in the blow struck by Oreites lies not in the wound itself, which is minor, but in

---

[50] In Il. 20.386–87, where Achilles deals a similar blow with his spear, a part of the formula is used.

[51] Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 161.

[52] As is suggested by M. Campbell, "Further Notes on Apollonius Rhodius," *CQ* n.s. 21 (1971), 413.

[53] We might expect the battle to be on sand (cf. 2.36), as in Book 1. The dust, however, recalls Homeric battles.

[54] Cf. Od. 9.389–90 and pp. 132–33.

the threat of graver injury suggested by νηδυίων ἄψαυστος 'without touching the intestines', injury of a kind which is perceived in Homer as particularly painful (Il. 13.568–69).[55]

The next encounter, between Aretus and Iphitus, is unusual in other respects. κορύνη 'club' only appears in Homer at Il. 7.141 and Il. 7.143, in a reminiscence by Nestor; there it is a weapon, though not used in single combat. κορύναι have already appeared along with the un-Homeric σίγυννοι 'clubs' at 2.99 as weapons wielded by the Bebryces; these unusual weapons add ethnic colour as well as suggesting the impromptu nature of the battle.[56] Apollonius is vague about which part of Iphitus' body is hit; this lack of detail is also a difference from Homeric style. Another variation in style is the oblique mention of Aretus' fate, which is foreshadowed but not actually described.

Battle encounters in Homer also usually end with the death of one of the participants, or with the wounded party being carried away to recover; however, here there are descriptions of blows in two successive encounters (2.107–9) with no further information on what happened to their recipients. The combats are left open-ended and incomplete. Two other encounters are inconclusive and we are not told how they continued after the first blow; are Talaos and Iphitus rescued from the thick of battle, or does another Argonaut come up beside them to take over? The description of Aretus' death at the hands of Clytius is entirely suppressed, apart from the bare mention of the weapon used.[57]

There are no more single combats, but Apollonius goes on to describe the arrival of more Argonauts, with a few individuals being mentioned by name (2.118–22). This appears to put an end to the fighting, as the Bebryces take flight; Jason, Ancaeus and the sons of Aeacus enter the fray but are not said to do anything more. Again, the expected conclusion to an event in the battle is missing and the appearance of a warrior on the battlefield, which in Homer signals

---

[55] Cf. Fenik (1968), 144. νήδυια occurs only here, Il. 17.524 and Nic. Al. 381.

[56] κορύναι are a rustic alternative to spears at Hdt. 1.59. σίγυν(ν)ος/η is a Cypriot word according to Arist. Po. 1457b6 and is the name of a Balkan race at 4.320 and Hdt. 5.9.

[57] The specification of a sword as the weapon with which Clytius subsequently kills Aretus (2.117) both introduces yet another kind of weapon and indicates that Clytius is fighting with something other than the bow with which he is usually associated (he is the son of the bowman Eurytus (1.86–89), and uses the bow at 2.1042–45). It is not stated how he kills Hyacinthus at 1.1044.

that he will be prominent,[58] is not followed up with actual fighting.

At this stage some more irregular weapons are used; Ancaeus' axe, though unusual as a battle weapon, has appeared before (1.169, 1.430, cf. p. 52) and his bear-skin makes an improvised shield.[59] The axe can be paralleled from Il. 13.612 and Il. 15.711; the latter passage occurs in the fighting at the ships, when various unusual improvised weapons are used, as here.

There is no mention of blood in the account of the single combats.[60] This is a contrast to Homeric practice,[61] where blood often features in the description of wounds which are not cleanly dealt, so it might be expected here. Bloodshed becomes more prominent later on in the *Argonautica*, especially in the murder of Apsyrtus in Book 4 (cf. especially 4.471–74) and Jason's and Medea's subsequent purification from it. This restraint is possibly to make the murder of Apsyrtus all the more shocking by its comparative goriness, but it also suggests that the conflict in Book 2 is a 'literary' battle, unsoiled by the messiness which even the conventions of Homeric battles admit.[62] The absence of such realistic and conspicuous detail leaves Apollonius free to manipulate the conventions of battles in the *Iliad*.

The flight of the Bebryces is described by two similes (2.123–34), but not in the narrative independently of these similes. The technique of using two similes to describe the same event in different ways is Homeric,[63] as is the pairing of similes about attack and defence.[64] The Argonauts' waiting before they strike, the paralysing fear of the Bebryces (2.126–28) and their confusion (2.133–34) are only expressed by similes, a technique Apollonius uses elsewhere[65] and one which is also found in Homeric battles.[66] It is not the content or phraseology of the similes here which is unusual, but their promi-

---

[58] Cf. Scott (1974), 39 on the use of similes to introduce a warrior who will later be important on his appearance in battle.

[59] 2.120 echoes Il. 21.233 ἔνθορε μέσσῳ 'leapt into the midst' (of Achilles).

[60] It is mentioned in Book 1 only at 1.1056. Cf. p. 59 on the sacrifice.

[61] E.g. at Il. 20.470–71 in single combat, or in a description of the battlefield at Il. 11.534–37.

[62] Half of all occurrences of αἷμα 'blood' (11 out of 22) are in Book 4; even allowing for the extra length of Book 4, this suggests that Apollonius' reticence in this area is abandoned in the final book.

[63] Cf. Fenik (1968), 58, Moulton (1977), 27–33, Lonsdale (1990), 110–11.

[64] On Homeric examples, cf. Hubbard (1981), 60–61.

[65] Discussed with examples by Clausing (1913), 46–47. Cf. Carspecken (1952), 88.

[66] Cf. Scott (1974), 113, Moulton (1977), 75–76.

nence in the scene and the burden of narrative which they bear.

The first simile likens the Argonauts attacking the Bebryces to wolves attacking sheep, and is one of only two similes in Apollonius about wild beasts attacking flocks, a type which is common in Homer.[67] Wolves are only mentioned here in Apollonius, though sheep appear many times in similes and elsewhere.[68] A number of Homeric similes deal with wolves attacking other animals, but there is no single main model here. Il. 16.352–55[69] shares with Apollonius' simile the negligence of the herdsmen which the predators exploit (2.125, Il. 16.354). Il. 17.61–67 supplies the combination of dogs and useless shepherds (2.125, Il. 17.65–67).[70] The huddling together of the sheep recalls Il. 5.136–42 (2.127–28, Il. 5.141). Thus elements of several Homeric similes are combined without any one of them prevailing. Many of Homer's own similes are constructed in a similar way out of details which occur elsewhere; Fenik[71] thus analyses Il. 5.554–60, commenting that 'the unique is only a new arrangement of the typical'. Apollonius is thus using a Homeric technique in constructing this simile.

The second simile (2.130–34) likens the fleeing Bebryces to bees smoked out of a nest and also draws on a model in a Homeric battle scene.[72] Il. 2.87–90 is a partial source since it describes bees leaving a nest; Apollonius coins βομβηδόν 'buzzing' (2.133) on the analogy of βοτρυδόν 'clustering' (Il. 2.89). Il. 12.167–70 resembles it more strongly, both by being set in a battle and in its content, since in both similes human enemies try to get the bees out (unsuccessfully in Homer). Apollonius transfers the simile to a rout and alters its

---

[67] Carspecken (1952), 69; the other is 1.1243–47 (not a battle scene). On this simile type in Homer, cf. Scott (1974), 71, Lonsdale (1990), 39–70, 105–6.

[68] 1.575–78, 1.1243–47, 4.486–87, 4.674–75. Popular also in Homer's similes; the *Argonautica* has sheep raiding (4.1501) and the theft of the Fleece, so the choice reinforces a theme. Clausing (1913), 47–48 notes approvingly that the Argonauts raid sheepfolds like the wolves (2.142–44); part of σταθμός 'sheepfold' occurs in the same metrical position (2.123, 2.142) and cf. ἀπείρονα μῆλα (2.123)/ἄσπετα μῆλα 'vast flocks' (2.143).

[69] Cited by Σ ad 2.123–29a.

[70] 2.125 λάθρῃ ἐϋρρίνων <u>τε κυνῶν αὐ</u>των <u>τε νομήων</u>. . . .
(. . . [the wolves] have slipped by the keen-scented dogs and the shepherds also . . .)
Il. 17.65 ἀμφὶ δέ τόν γε <u>κύνες τ' ἄ</u>νδρες <u>τε νομῆες</u>. . . .
(Around him dogs and herdsmen. . . .)

[71] Fenik (1968), 58.

[72] It is a partner to another simile about bees at 1.879–85, which describes the Lemnian women gathering to say farewell to the Argonauts. In both similes, bees leave a hive, but they contrast strongly in mood, since in Book 1 they go peacefully about their work, whereas in Book 2 they are forced out by human aggressors.

action accordingly.[73] As with the preceding simile, aspects of several early epic models are used.

Afterwards there is an observation beginning νήπιοι 'Fools!' (2.137–38) of the common Homeric type;[74] the closest parallel comes from the *Odyssey* (Od. 22.32–33 cf. p. 73). It is only at this point that we learn that in the meantime the land of the Bebryces has been attacked by Lycus and the Mariandyni, a good example of Apollonius' narration of simultaneous events.[75] When the Argonauts have taken advantage of this, one of them reflects that (like the Bebryces at 2.140) the Argonauts are missing the one who could have most helped them, Heracles (2.144–53). This observation recalls the anonymous comments made by bystanders to events in Homer (beginning at Il. 2.271–77), but it is expressed with an ordinary aorist, not a frequentative form, implying that one person in particular made such a speech. The subtle variation conceals a deliberate anonymising of a speech which could have been given to a named Argonaut.

The episode is rounded off by a pious attribution of events to Zeus' will (2.154). The phrase Διὸς βουλή recalls the large-scale plan of Zeus which controls so many events in the *Iliad*,[76] but in the *Argonautica* there is no independent confirmation of Zeus' involvement. The end of the scene thus employs a variety of devices used by Homer, together with Apollonius' own flexible narration of simultaneous events, but with a refusal to attribute the speech to a particular person or to elaborate on Zeus' part in what has happened. Like the battle itself, the events afterwards are treated elliptically and the reader is left guessing what actually happened.

The scene invites comparison with the battle in Book 1. In both the similarity to Homeric scenes is clear but their conventions are reworked in a more marked way in Book 2. Book 1 takes the form of the *aristeia* of a single warrior, with the success of others mentioned briefly; Book 2 presents a series of short combats, described in a little detail. In both battles the end of the single combat(s) is

---

[73] The vocabulary recalls Hesiod, Th. 594–99. Virgil adapts this simile too (Aen. 12.587–92), transferring it to a siege. Both similes contrast bees which remain inside the hive with those emerging from it, in that order, though in Hesiod these are two separate sorts of bee, and in Apollonius the same group of bees at two different times (as at 1.879–82).

[74] As at 2.65–66; cf. A. Grillo, *Tra Filologia e Narratologia* (Rome: 1988) 37–38.

[75] On this technique in Apollonius, cf. Fusillo (1985), 24–27 and n. 15.

[76] Cf. p. 272 and Taplin (1992), index s.v. *Dios boule*.

marked by a reflection on the ineluctability of Fate (1.1035–39, 2.114–17), after which Apollonius' interest in the individual combatants becomes more distant. In both battles, the flight of the defeated side is described by a simile or similes (1.1049–50, 2.123–34) and there is a swift change of scene (the mourning town 1.1051–52, the attack by the Mariandyni 2.138–41).

Despite the similarities, the two battles are very different in mood. The battle in Book 1 is the result of a tragic case of mistaken identity, so that the reader's sympathies lie with both sides. The Bebryces in Book 2, who attack the Argonauts while the latter are unprepared, and who are clearly of a similar character to their dead king, receive their just deserts. This keeps the reader at a safe emotional distance from the gruesome injuries inflicted in the battle. Some of the wounds in the *Iliad* rival these for unpleasantness, but their appearance so close together, and the lack of very close Iliadic parallels, suggests that Apollonius is experimenting again with Homeric conventions. On the structural level, the battle is apparently more conventional; Vian notes that the battle is Homeric in structure, with the *aristeia* (of the Dioscuri, 2.102–9) followed by some other encounters (2.110–17), then the attack and flight (2.118–36).[77] The scene is also experimental in its variations in narrative technique (such as the vagueness at 2.102 and 2.115, and the 'abandoning' of wounded warriors) and in the unusual weapons. The battle is a synthesis of exceptional elements in Iliadic battles, but one which leaves many details ambiguous before being rounded off more conventionally by two similes. This contrasts strongly with the close relationship to Homer in both the boxing match and the battle in Book 1.

c) *Jason's* Aristeia *in Book 3*

Jason's yoking of the bulls, ploughing, and slaughter of the Earthborn in Colchis are his greatest achievement in the *Argonautica*. Although only the latter part of these exploits could be described as combat, the whole ordeal uses the conventions and phraseology of Homeric battle scenes. It is the climax which has been prepared for by the two battles which have already been considered.

---

[77] Cf. Vian I, 140.

Several general observations can be made on the differences between Jason's *aristeia* and those of Homeric heroes such as Diomedes, Agamemnon and Achilles,[78] differences which distinguish it also from the battle scenes in Books 1 and 2. Jason has prepared for battle by anointing himself with Medea's drugs and performing the appropriate ritual (3.1194–224) which makes him invulnerable (3.1305). Such invulnerability, whether partial or total, was common in mythology (as in the famous story of Achilles' heel), and appeared in the Epic Cycle, as it does in the epics of other cultures,[79] but it is conspicuous by its absence from Homer's battles.[80] Jason is thus competing on different terms from Homeric warriors.

It is Hera's concern for Jason which ensures that he is protected in this way, a concern which the goddess expresses at the opening of Book 3. Heroes in Homer are also helped by the gods in battle, but usually in direct ways with such aids as divine armour, the presence of a god on the battlefield or a sudden increase in courage inspired by a god.[81] However, in Apollonius the causal chain which gives Jason divine help is convoluted, involving a human intermediary, Medea, and two other gods, Eros and Aphrodite, and the nature of the advantage which results is un-Homeric, as explained above; Hera does not aid Jason in his ordeal in the straightforward ways which are usual in the *Iliad*. The reader also has to wait the length of Book 3 before the help which Hera plans at the beginning of the book is put to practical use. Jason's use of magic in enduring his ordeal was of course already a feature of the tradition (e.g. Pindar, P. 4.221–22), but it is not coupled, as it could have been, with the methods of assistance found in Homeric battles.

Two verbal echoes of Homer bring this out especially clearly:

3.1256 (Jason) δῦ δέ μιν ἀλκὴ
σμερδαλέη ἄφατός τε καὶ ἄτρομος....
(A mighty force entered him, inexpressible, without fear....)
Il. 17.210 (Hector) δῦ δέ μιν Ἄρης
δεινὸς ἐνυάλιος....
(... and the fearful war-god Ares entered into him....)

---

[78] In *Iliad* 5, 11 and 20–21 respectively.

[79] On the Near Eastern evidence, cf. Griffin (1980), 32 n. 81.

[80] Cf. J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer," *JHS* 97 (1977), 40–41.

[81] Achilles' armour: Il. 18.478–608. For Athena on the battlefield, cf. e.g. Il. 22.214–305; Diomedes has her with him in *Iliad* 5. Increase in courage; Il. 17.569–73, etc., cf. E. Ehnmark, *The Idea of God in Homer* (Uppsala: 1935), 5–9.

Although 'Ares' in the Homeric passage could simply be a metonymy for fighting spirit, the change removes the god's name and replaces it with the strength Jason feels as Medea's magic takes effect. At the beginning of 3.1350 γνάμψε δὲ γούνατ' ἐλαφρά 'he flexed his knees to keep them supple' recalls γυῖα δ' ἔθηκεν ἐλαφρά 'she made his limbs light' which begins a line in a passage where Athena helps Diomedes (Il. 5.122), but there is no direct divine intervention in Apollonius.

Other parallels with Homer emphasise Jason's reliance on Medea rather than on direct help from the gods. At Il. 12.450 Hector's ease in lifting a stone is attributed to Zeus' aid; Jason has no such divine assistance in the equivalent passage (3.1365–69). Against the Earthborn Jason needs the detailed instructions of Medea (3.1052–60, recalled at 3.1363–64). In the *Iliad*, heroes are not usually briefed on specific methods of combat, though they are instructed on general strategy.[82]

The tasks Jason performs differ in their nature from those required of the Homeric warrior. Apart from yoking, ploughing and sowing, Jason has to confront warriors who rise from the earth and fight them as one against many. His nakedness (3.1282)[83] also distinguishes him from the heavily armed soldiers of the *Iliad*. Nevertheless, Jason resembles Achilles in his supreme achievement in *Iliad* 22. Like Achilles, he is on the battlefield alone, though he has a group of men supporting him, while on the other side the conflict is watched by townsfolk whose king is particularly concerned about the outcome of the conflict.[84] Unlike Achilles, however, Jason faces very long odds against him, and he must overcome not a single opponent, but a series of ordeals and a group of warriors. Despite these general differences, the passage contains throughout a great deal of phraseology derived from that in Homeric battle scenes.[85] Individual examples of this will be discussed if they are particularly striking or fall into a significant pattern.

---

[82] E.g. Achilles' advice to Patroclus (Il. 16.83–96).

[83] Explicable in terms of both the 'heroic nudity' of artistic representations of battle, and Hesiod's injunction (WD 391); cf. Hunter ad loc. It is also another similarity to Greek athletics.

[84] Apollonius treats the relationship of city and battlefield differently from Homer; the cutting from Jason's actions to the reactions of the spectators (3.1314, 3.1370–73) is more reminiscent of the games in *Iliad* 23 (e.g. Il. 23.448–98, Il. 23.728, Il. 23.766–67, Il. 23.822–23, Il. 23.847, Il. 23.869, Il. 23.881) than of battle scenes.

[85] Cf. Campbell, *Echoes* ad loc.

There are two arming scenes, those of Jason and Aeetes. That of Aeetes (3.1225–37) recalls Homeric examples of this 'typical scene', which is used in the *Iliad* of both men and gods,[86] and does so not just by its subject matter but also in the use of epithets such as εὐπηγής 'well-built',[87] ὠκύπους 'swift of foot', τετραφάληρος 'four-bossed',[88] περίτροχος 'circular' πολύρρινος 'with many layers of hide' and the obscure ἀμαιμάκετος,[89] the last four of which occur only here in Apollonius. The phraseology is also Homeric, although it does not draw exclusively on one source. The most obvious borrowing is from Athena's arming in *Iliad* 5:

3.1228 χρυσείην δ' ἐπὶ κρατὶ κόρυν θέτο τετραφάληρον
(On his head he placed a golden helmet, four-bossed. . . .)
Il. 5.743 κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφίφαλον κυνέην θέτο τετραφάληρον χρυσείην. . . .
(And on her head she placed a golden helmet, set round with horns, four-bossed. . . .)

Like Athena, Aeetes goes on to mount a chariot which someone else drives (3.1235–37, Il. 5.748), though he does not fight himself, and wears something associated with his father (3.1229–30, Il. 5.736). Aeetes is the only character in the *Argonautica* who rides in a chariot, the means of transport used on the battlefield in the *Iliad*; as with the arming scene, this sets him up in Homeric terms.[90]

In Homer different pieces of armour are always put on in the same order,[91] but in Apollonius this order is varied; Aeetes puts his

---

[86] Il. 3.328–38, Il. 5.736–47, Il. 10.131–36, Il. 11.16–46, Il. 19.364–91. On the conventions of such scenes, cf. Arend (1933), 92–97, J. I. Armstrong, "The Arming Motif in the Iliad," *AJP* 79 (1958), 337–54, Fenik (1968), 73–74, 78–79, 191, Patzer (1971), 26–40, M. M. Willcock, "The Search for the Poet Homer," *Greece and Rome* n.s. 37 (1990), 5–6.

[87] Homeric objects are often qualified with epithets in εὐ-. At its other appearance at 4.219, Aeetes' chariot has another such epithet, εὔτυκτος 'well-made', which is used in a formulaic line in arming scenes in the *Iliad* (Il. 3.336 = Il. 15.480 = Il. 16.137).

[88] ὠκύπους is a standard epithet of horses in Homer; τετραφάληρος is used of helmets at Il. 5.743.

[89] Cf. B. Snell, ed., *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (Göttingen 1979–), s.v., for ancient etymologies of this word.

[90] The chariot also appears at 4.219–25, cf. p. 116. The only other chariots in the poem are those of Pelops and Oenomaus depicted on Jason's cloak (1.752–58); Oenomaus is analogous to Aeetes, as he vainly attempts to prevent Pelops from winning and claiming Hippodameia; cf. Lawall (1966), 156, Newman (1986), 79. Like Aeetes, he wields a spear (1.756, cf. 3.1231–32).

[91] Cf. Armstrong (1958), 344; on Aeetes' arming and Homer, cf. James (1981), 74–75.

helmet on before picking up his shield and spear, not after, and has no greaves. 3.1226–27, which follow the putting on of the breastplate and which could apply only to Aeetes' breastplate, combine two devices often found in Homeric arming scenes. In most such scenes the formulaic description of the breastplate is followed by a line which is applicable in particular to the person arming;[92] Apollonius' lines also imitate passages in Homer which tell the past history of a piece of armour in an arming scene (cf. e.g. Il. 11.20). Another Homeric theme which is transformed by Apollonius is 'the spear which only one person can cope with' (3.1231–34, cf. Il. 16.140–44);[93] this is adapted, since in Homer the crucial question was who could *wield* Achilles' spear (only Achilles), whereas in Apollonius only Heracles could have *withstood* Aeetes'.[94] The introduction of Aeetes as warrior by a Homeric 'typical scene' leads the reader to expect that he will fight, particularly since he has threatened violence earlier (3.578–79), and did fight in some versions of the story.[95] The expectation that Aeetes will perform some martial exploit is heightened by the use of language associated with Achilles, and by the simile likening him to Poseidon (3.1240–44). However, Aeetes' arming has no direct consequences; instead he becomes one of a number of people in the poem who arm to no purpose.

By contrast Jason's 'arming', though parallel to that of Aeetes,[96] is very brief (3.1246–48), and describes not the putting on of the armour but Jason's smearing it with the Prometheion; the emphasis is diverted to the testing of his invincibility by the other Argonauts.[97] The differing relationship to Homer of the two passages, however, shows up the contrasts between them; Aeetes arms in the conventional Homeric way, whereas Jason relies on Medea's drugs.[98]

---

[92] Cf. Armstrong (1958), 342.

[93] Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 438 n. 198. 3.1232 <u>τό μὲν οὔ</u> κέ τις <u>ἄλλος</u> ὑπέστη 'no other [hero] could have withstood it'/Il. 16.141 <u>τὸ μὲν οὐ</u> δύνατ' <u>ἄλλος</u> Ἀχαιῶν πάλλειν 'which no other Achaean could wield'.

[94] Il. 16.140–44 is significant in view of subsequent events, cf. Fenik (1968), 191. Griffin (1980), 36 also notes that the purpose of Homer's arming scenes is to prepare for later action.

[95] Cf. D.S. 4.48.4–5.

[96] Putting on shield (3.1231, 3.1247), spear (3.1231–34, 3.1248) and sword (3.1231–32, 3.1248); both scenes end with similes (3.1240–44, 3.1259–61).

[97] On the need to make Jason's weapons 'respectable' by describing them in Homeric language, cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 78–79. Combat against one's own side is only found in Homer in the battle in armour in Il. 23.798–825.

[98] On this contrast between the two arming scenes, cf. Schwinge (1986), 112–16.

Jason's delight in his own strength resembles the behaviour of Homeric heroes; this resemblance is reinforced by a simile (3.1259–61) closely resembling one used of both Paris and Hector as they enter the battlefield (Il. 6.506–11 = Il. 15.263–68) (p. 116). Both vocabulary and content refer to the Homeric simile.[99] Apollonius' adaptation of the simile, like Virgil's (Aen. 11.492–97), fits it closely to the action but differs from Virgil's by condensing it and omitting elements in the Homeric original which do not fit his scene (apart from making the horse a war-horse), while Virgil adds further details to the narrative which correspond both to his and to Homer's similes.[100] Jason, like Achilles (Il. 19.384–86), works himself up for combat.[101]

Although Jason's tasks in the first part of his ordeal are not those expected of a warrior, this does not mean that these actions are not described in battles or associated scenes in the *Iliad.* Instead yoking and ploughing can be found in Homer in similes and on Achilles' shield. The two Ajaxes standing together resemble a pair of oxen drawing the plough (Il. 13.701–8). On the shield of Achilles a scene depicting ploughing (Il. 18.541–49) is followed by one with reaping (Il. 18.550–60), as Jason later 'reaps' the sown men (made especially clear in the simile at 3.1386–91).[102] The grim work of war is likened to reaping when the battle is evenly balanced at Il. 11.67–69.

Although such subsidiary activities are transformed into the principal action, Apollonius reminds the reader in one passage how they are used in Homer. Jason's activity is reflected in a description of the time of day which features the activity of ordinary ploughmen (3.1340–42);[103] like the scene on the shield,[104] this is inset into the main narrative, and it performs a related function to a simile in

[99] On controversial words in the Homeric simile, cf. R. R. Schlunk, *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid* (Ann Arbor: 1974) 26–27. κρούει replaces the extremely rare κροαίνει (on different interpretations of the word, cf. H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig: 1880–85), but suggests pawing the ground rather than galloping (the usual ancient explanation: Σ^A ad Il. 6.507); the other sense, 'desire' (Σ^A ad Il. 6.507, citing Archilochus and οἱ νεώτεροι 'more recent authorities', Σ^T ad Il. 15.264), is represented by ἐελδόμενος 'longing'. One explanation (Σ^T ad Il. 15.263) connects the unique ἀκοστήσας 'having fed' with the horse's impatience, which is implied in Apollonius. On the location of Homer's simile, cf. Fenik (1968), 10.

[100] Cf. West (1969), 47. Apollonius omits the horse's bathing in the river, its destination and its mane.

[101] On the function of this, cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 438–39.

[102] On the plant imagery applied to the Earthborn, cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 449–50.

[103] Cf. Fantuzzi (1988), 150–51 and (on Il. 11.86) 129–32.

[104] The ploughmen's desire to finish work is echoed:

offering a scene to be compared or contrasted with the main narrative. The indication of the time of day resembles such indications in Homer, such as Il. 11.86–89 (shortly after the reaping simile mentioned above), in which the Greeks break through at the time when a woodcutter stops work to eat. Both passages are set at turning points in the action and implicitly contrast the activities of country life in peacetime with the struggle on the battlefield.

As in the battle in Book 1, Apollonius supplements Homer with other literary sources. In the absence of much appropriate Homeric material to describe the ploughing scene, Apollonius uses vocabulary from Hesiod's *Works and Days*,[105] Pindar's fourth Pythian Ode,[106] and (probably) Callimachus' *Hecale*,[107] where Theseus, like Jason, overcame a bull, as poetic sources.

The slaughter of the Earthborn more obviously resembles a Homeric battle than do the sowing and ploughing which precede it.[108] Before embarking on this Jason needs to gather his strength again (3.1350–51),[109] and this stage is illustrated by a simile which draws on *Iliad* 13.471–75 (p. 119). In this simile the image (a wild boar fighting men) can be paralleled both from Homer[110] and from another passage in the *Argonautica* (2.818–34). Similarly, whetting teeth (3.1351–52) both recalls Homer (reproducing a Homeric phrase across a line break) and is thematically important, since teeth feature in Jason's *aristeia*.[111] The one detail in Apollonius' simile which cannot be found in its Homeric counterpart is the boar's foaming at the mouth, from 'Hesiod', *Shield of Heracles*,[112] assuming that this applies to the boar

3.1342 ... γλυκερόν σφιν ἄφαρ βουλυτ<u>ὸν ἱκέσθαι</u>,
(... for the sweet hour [to come] at which they can release the oxen.)
Il. 18.547 · ἱέμενοι νειοῖο βαθείης τέλσ<u>ον ἱκέσθαι</u>.
(... pressing on through the deep fallow to reach the headland again.)

[105] αὐτόγυος 'made in one piece' (3.1285, WD 433), ἱστοβοεύς 'plough-pole' (3.1318, WD 431, 435), ἐχέτλη 'handle' (3.1325, WD 467), αὖλαξ 'furrow' (3.1347, WD 439, 443), later ὀμβρέω 'rain' (3.1399, WD 415).

[106] Cf. Vian II, 106, n. 1.

[107] Cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 79–80.

[108] On the battle language in 3.1348–53, cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 85–86.

[109] The two sections of the *aristeia* begin similarly; in both an increase in vigour is described by a simile from the animal world (3.1256–62, 3.1350–53).

[110] The phraseology is also Iliadic; cf. συῒ εἴκελος 'like a boar' (Il. 17.281) in a simile resembling Il. 13.471–75.

[111] Cf. Hunter on 3.1351–53. ὀδόντας 'teeth' occurs at line-end at 3.1336 and 3.1351 (and 3.414, 3.1028, 3.1177, all referring to the teeth which Jason must sow).

[112] [Hes.] Sc. 389–90 <u>ἀφρὸς</u> δὲ περὶ <u>στόμα</u> μαστιχόωντι / λείβεται. Apollonius believed this to be Hesiodic (Hypothesis to *Shield*, ll. 7–9).

rather than to Jason; if it does refer to Jason it can be paralleled at the description of Hector at Il. 15.607.[113]

However, this very conventional simile is set in a framework which deviates from Homer both in content and in narrative style. Homeric heroes do not usually leave the battlefield to regain their strength unless they are wounded; Jason's doing so (3.1346–53) emphasises the disjointed nature of the ordeal, since he cannot otherwise usefully occupy himself until the Earthborn appear. The way the Earthborn grow up while Jason is off the field (3.1354–55) is another good example of Apollonius' narration of two simultaneous events, a practice unknown to Homer.

The entrance of the Earthborn (3.1355–57) is loaded with epithets (στιβαροῖς 'strong', ἀμφιγύοις 'double-ended', λαμπομένῃσιν 'shining', φθισιμβρότου 'man-destroying').[114] Their gleaming armour closely recalls an earlier part of *Iliad* 13 (Il. 13.339–43) (pp. 119–20). The Earthborn are introduced in Homeric terms, but the ornate epithets describing them and the echoes of *Iliad* 13 paradoxically suggest that no amount of Homeric language can make this scene like battles in the *Iliad*.

Unlike victims in Homer, or the Doliones and Bebryces earlier in the *Argonautica*, the Earthborn are inhuman and unnamed, and thus lack individuality. Their actions and deaths are described in the plural (3.1362–63, 3.1373–75, 3.1382–85, 3.1393–98). Jason has already proved in battle against the Doliones and, to a lesser extent, the Bebryces that he can handle normal 'heroic' combat, but these warriors require a new approach.

Even under these unusual circumstances, however, Jason's tactics can recall a mode of combat from the *Iliad*, the device of throwing a stone (3.1365–70),[115] which has been suggested by Medea (3.1057–59). However, in Homer the intention is to wound directly rather than to encourage the warriors to fight each other. The Homeric topos that a stone would take two of today's men to wield[116] is amended so that Jason's stone requires four. Another Homeric tactic

---

[113] Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 447. G. Lawall and M. DeForest, review of Hunter (1989), *Classical Philology* 86 (1991), 344, find the simile grotesque in this context.

[114] φθισίμβροτος only occurs in Homer, ἀμφίγυος is almost exclusively Homeric; these two words occur only here in Apollonius.

[115] Il. 5.302–8, Il. 12.380–85, Il. 12.445–62, Il. 20.285–87, Il. 21.403–6.

[116] Il. 5.303–4, Il. 12.447–49, Il. 20.286–87. One man of today; Il. 12.381–83, cf. De Jong (1987), 44.

which reappears in a new form is that of hiding behind one's shield (3.1369–70).[117] Jason despatches the remaining Earthborn as they rise from the ground (3.1381–85); in a further variation of style, they are cut down as different parts of the body become visible, rather than being wounded in different parts of the body.

The blood which flows in the furrows (3.1391–92) recalls such Homeric phrases as ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα[118] and (αἷμα) δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν.[119] The gestures with which the Earthborn fall (3.1393–98) can be paralleled in the *Iliad*, and their appearance at death, as at birth, is described with vocabulary from Homeric battle scenes. ὀδάξ 'with the teeth' (3.1393) is used in Homer only of death,[120] in such phrases as γαῖαν ὀδὰξ αἱρεῖν 'to bite the earth'; βῶλος 'clod', substituted for γαῖα 'earth' here, is more 'agricultural', appropriately in the setting of a newly-ploughed field. πρηνής 'prone' (3.1394) appears in fourteen of its seventeen Homeric occurrences in Homer in the context of death in battle,[121] and ἀγοστός in Homer always describes clawing the ground in death.[122]

Jason's ordeal at the end of Book 3, like the capture of the Fleece in Book 4 which is its sequel, is adorned with a great many similes, which are denser here than in any other part of the poem. They recall Homer both individually and in combination; many of them conform to types of simile found in the battle scenes of the *Iliad*, for example horse (3.1259–61, Il. 6.506–11), boar (3.1351–53, Il. 11.324–25, Il.12.41–48, etc.), stars (3.1359–62, 3.1377–79, Il. 8.555–59, Il. 22.26–31 etc.), reaping (3.1386–90, Il. 11.67–69). 3.1299–303 and 3.1386–90 are exceptional in this respect since they have no obvious Homeric precedent; these correspond to the 'one-off' unique similes in Homer, so even in their difference they can be related to Homeric practice.

3.1373–76 introduce successively two images common in Homeric

---

[117] Cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 87.

[118] Il. 4.451, Il. 8.65, Il. 15.715, Il. 20.494.

[119] Il. 13.655, Il. 21.119.

[120] Il. 2.418, Il. 11.749, Il. 19.61, Il. 22.17, Il. 24.738, all in speeches.

[121] With ὀδάξ at Il. 2.418.

[122] Il. 11.425, Il. 13.508, Il. 13.520, Il. 14.452, Il. 17.315. After Homer only in Simonides before the Hellenistic period. Apollonius differs in apparently using it to mean 'forearm', cf. Erbse (1953), 175.

[123] Dogs: Il. 8.338–40, Il. 10.360–62, Il. 15.579–81; Apollonius omits the prey which is usual in the Homeric similes. Falling tree: Il. 4.482–87, Il. 5.560, Il. 13.178–80,

battle scenes, dogs and falling trees.[123] The first simile is 'foretold' by Medea (3.1058); her predictive abilities extend even to the images describing future events. The second simile looks ahead to 3.1399–403, which also concerns a plant coming to the ground (cf. also Talos' fall at 4.1682–86). Homer also juxtaposes similes about the vegetable and the animal worlds, as Apollonius does here.[124] There is a further contrast with the meteorological subject of the simile which immediately follows this pair of similes at 3.1377–79.

As in Homer, some of the similes can be linked together into sequences. Two such sequences merit special attention; one fits into a broader pattern of allusions to Achilles' appearance and actions, while the other is a series of sea similes which can be compared both individually and as a series with a sequence of sea similes in the *Iliad*.

The similarities in the situation to the climax of the *Iliad*, Achilles' killing of Hector, have been mentioned above. One particular passage in *Iliad* 22, Achilles' appearance on the battlefield, is echoed in several places at the end of Book 3 (p. 120). The echoes of this passage are used of both Jason and Aeetes, associating the action generally with the climax of the *Iliad*. The 'Achillean' language describing Aeetes, like other aspects of his arming scene, suggests that Aeetes will perform some great exploit; then echoes of the same passage are applied to Jason.

The appropriation of Achilles' language for Jason consists chiefly of transferring a number of similes to him. In the *Iliad*, Achilles' similes form a special group, showing his importance and his difference from the other warriors.[125] Transferring these associations to Jason reinforces his separation from the other Argonauts, as well as characterising his actions. The sequence of similes begins with 1.774–80 (which draws on Il. 22.26–31 and Il. 22.317–20), which accompanies the lengthy description of Jason's cloak, itself a pendant to the Shield of Achilles.[126]

Il. 13.389–91, Il. 16.482–84, Il. 17.53–58; cf. Fenik (1968), 126. Campbell, *Studies*, 126, n. 25 notes that the species are Homeric but their order is reversed.

[124] Cf. Hubbard (1981), 62.

[125] Cf. Scott (1974), 114–20.

[126] Cf. V. H. Knight, *Πρόσθεν ἔτι κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί: Responses to Homer in the Argonautica of Apollonius* (Diss. Cambridge: 1990) 204–6. Parallels between the simile at 1.774–80 and the cloak: φαεινῷ 'bright' (1.774), ἐρευθόμενος 'glowing' (1.778); cf. the cloak's brightness (1.725–26). θηήσαντο (1.776)/θηήσαιο (1.767) 'gaze' (a θηη- form of θεάομαι occurs only once elsewhere in Apollonius).

3.1271–74 recalls Il. 22.162–64 (pp. 120–1); it is not, strictly speaking, a simile, but rather indicates the distance from the plain of Ares to the city. Il. 22.162–64 comes at the climax of Achilles' *aristeia*, his encounter with Hector. Both passages are set at funeral games (3.1273–74, Il. 22.164) where chariots run round a turning point (3.1272–73, Il. 22.162–63). The setting of Jason's ordeal is appropriately associated with physical prowess, and the specifying of the games as funeral games, which are found in the *Iliad* but not in the *Argonautica* (3.1273–74),[127] sets the tone for the 'Iliadic' action to follow. Like the race track, the space between the city and the plain is traversed by chariots (3.1272–73, 3.1235–39). The games are in honour of a king (3.1273); Aeetes is coming to watch but καταφθιμένοιο (literally 'ruined'), changed from κατατεθνηῶτος 'dead' (Il. 22.164), hints at his defeat in the trials he has set.[128]

The use of Achilles' similes continues into Book 4. 4.125–26 echoes another description of Achilles' appearance (Il. 22.134–35),[129] 4.139–42 is a smoke simile, whose two models in the *Iliad* both refer to Achilles (Il. 18.207–13, Il. 21.522–24),[130] and the Fleece, like Achilles' shield, shines like the moon (4.167–70, Il. 19.374). However, after Book 1 none of the similes refers to Jason directly, discouraging a straightforward comparison of Jason and Achilles. Some of the other similes in the *aristeia* implicitly liken Jason to the Greeks in the *Iliad.* At 3.1293–95 and 3.1327–29, Jason is compared to the same things as are the Greeks in the models (the rock/the sailors) associating him with Achilles' side. 3.1391–92 recalls Il. 21.257–62 (used of Achilles cut off by the river).

Throughout his triumph, Jason is invested, by implication, with some of Achilles' glory, but comparison with his achievements also reminds the reader of the contrast in the nature of the *aristeia* and

---

[127] The word νύσσα 'turning post' (3.1272) occurs in Homer four times in the games of *Iliad* 23 and once in the games of *Odyssey* 8.

[128] καταφθίω means 'die' in its three other occurrences in Apollonius but not always in Homer, e.g. Od. 4.363.

[129] . . . νεφέλῃ ἐναλίγκιον ἥ τ' ἀνιόντος
ἠελίου φλογερῇσιν ἐρεύθεται ἀκτίνεσσιν.

(. . . like a cloud which blushes red in the flaming rays of the rising sun.)

Il. 22.134 . . . ἀμφὶ δὲ χαλκὸς ἐλάμπετο εἴκελος αὐγῇ
ἢ πυρὸς αἰθομένου ἢ ἠελίου ἀνιόντος.

(. . . and the bronze on his body shone like the light of a blazing fire or the sun when it rises.)

[130] On the differences from Homeric smoke similes, cf. M. G. Ciani, "Poesia come enigma," in *Scritti in onore di Carlo Diano* (Bologna: 1975), 107.

the means by which it is achieved. However, after the initial direct comparison between Jason and Achilles in the Lemnos episode, Apollonius carefully avoids characterising Jason in a straightforward way as an 'Achilles figure'.

Another sequence of similes uses the sea as a vehicle, like the sequence of sea similes in *Iliad* 2 and 15, some of which are Apollonius' models. These fit into a larger pattern of sea similes in the poem,[131] all of which occur in scenes of vigorous action. In the *Argonautica* they gain added relevance as the material of much of this seafaring epic is turned into similes.

The first is 3.1293–95, which draws on Il. 15.618–21 (p. 121). The image of the rock standing firm is retained but applied to one person, not to a group.[132] After an un-Homeric simile at 3.1299–303, 3.1327–29, which also deals with resistance to powerful natural forces at sea, draws on a sea simile which immediately follows the model for the previous one (Il. 15.624–28). As in Homer, a simile about attack follows one describing defence or resistance.[133] The theme is continued at 3.1370–71, which recalls Il. 2.394 (p. 121). Though the verbal similarities are close, the simile is applied to a new situation.[134]

The similes are successively used to describe Jason, the bulls and the Colchians; in each case the sea represents the Colchian side, and Jason is offering resistance. The sequence is not simply a reflection of a Homeric simile pattern but is also used to establish a polarity between Jason and the Colchians, and to create links both with similes elsewhere and with the main narrative of the poem.

The relationship of the whole *aristeia* to the battles of the *Iliad* is exemplified by the closing simile (3.1399–404). This is distinctive in a number of ways; it has an unusual and un-Homeric introduction—που τοίως 'in some such way'[135]—and the vocabulary is elaborate with

[131] 1.1003–5, 1.1201–4, 2.70–73, 3.1294–95, 3.1328–29, 3.1370–71, 4.152–53, 4.933–36, 4.948–52. Indirectly: 2.79–82 (cf. Il. 16.633–35). On these similes as 'good omens', cf. Williams (1991), 265–66. On Homer's sea similes, cf. Moulton (1977), 40–41.

[132] Cf. Hunter ad loc. On this type of simile, cf. F. Bömer, ed., *Ovid: Metamorphoses* (Heidelberg: 1969–86) on Ovid, Met. 9.40.

[133] Cf. Hubbard (1981), 61.

[134] For parallels for the shout, cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 87–88, who notes that Apollonius' simile speaks of the whole sea, not one wave, corresponding to the crowd of Colchians.

[135] τοίως may occur only here (it is also a variant at Theoc. 24.72). Cf. Carspecken (1952), 66. The phrase shows literariness according to Hunter on 3.1399–403; Campbell, *Studies*, 93 says that it is detached and didactic.

many non-Homeric words[136] and compound words (a feature of Homeric style which Apollonius generally avoids). However, its complexity in changing the point of comparison between the beginning and the end (it starts by comparing the sown men falling to shoots destroyed by wind and ends with the dejected Aeetes like the farmer) has Homeric antecedents. The closest parallel is Il. 13.491–93 (which begins with the Trojans following like sheep and ends with Aeneas' joy like the shepherd's),[137] since both similes begin with movement and end with someone's emotion.

The opening resembles Il. 8.306–7 (the dying Gorgythion is like a poppy bending its head). However, in Apollonius it is the whole body/plant which falls, and it is knocked down not by its own weight or the wind (as in Homer) but by rain, or rather by Zeus (3.1399). Though the metonymy of Zeus for a meteorological feature is a familiar one,[138] the use of his name here hints at a divine purpose behind Jason's triumph. Apollonius' simile also introduces that familiar inhabitant of Homeric similes, the bystander to natural phenomena,[139] his usual cheerfulness here becoming despondency. A likely model for this is Il. 17.53–58, describing the death of Euphorbus, which mentions the planter of the tree which is blown down and his care for it;[140] Fränkel[141] suggests that this man corresponds to Euphorbus' parents, and this implicit comparison is made explicit in the *Argonautica*, as Aeetes feels grief and amazement at the destruction of the Earthborn. The debt to the subject matter of Homer's similes is combined with a marked difference from Homer's lexicon, as the climax of Jason's extraordinary *aristeia*.

The high concentration of similes resembles Homeric battle scenes; their purpose here cannot be, as is sometimes said of Homer, to give relief from a long series of similar combats, since the ordeal of

---

[136] Campbell, *Studies*, 127 n. 35 finds this the most lexically complex passage in the entire poem. The non-Homeric words are τοίως 'in this way', ὀμβρέω 'rain', νεόθρεπτος 'newly raised', κατημύω 'droop', ἀλωεύς 'gardener', φυτοτρόφος 'nurseryman', σημαντήρ 'master'.

[137] Cf. p. 18 n. 68.

[138] Cf. e.g. L. Klein, "Die Göttertechnik in den *Argonautika* des Apollonios Rhodios," *Philologus* 86 (1930), 18–51, 215–57.

[139] E.g. Il. 4.455, Il. 8.559, (Il. 13.493, cited above, is a reaction to the sight of flocks).

[140] On νεόθρεπτος 'newly raised', φυτοτρόφος 'nurseryman' in Apollonius' simile, cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 93.

[141] Fränkel (1921), 39.

Jason consists of several stages involving a variety of actions. Nor can it be because Apollonius dislikes violence and wishes to describe it as little as possible,[142] since the appearance of the bulls, yoking and ploughing are not in themselves destructive. In any case, Apollonius does not avoid describing battles, as this chapter has already demonstrated. The density of similes, along with other similarities to Homer, constructs Jason's *aristeia* as a perverse kind of battle scene;[143] the exaggeration of Homeric elements and their appearance in new contexts shows the contrast with Homer.

The end of Book 3, like its beginning, imitates a type of scene associated with the *Iliad*; the *aristeia* of Jason, despite its unusual nature, is depicted in familiar heroic terms. The battles in Books 1 and 2, though apparently conventional, experimented with the style of Homeric battles; that in Book 3 introduces Homeric devices and language into an unusual setting. There are similarities in phraseology and actions which resemble those which occur in battle scenes in the *Iliad*, such as Aeetes' arming and Jason's throwing of the stone. There are many similes, as in a Homeric battle scene, and their vehicles resemble those of Homer's battle similes. It is also possible to make comparisons in general terms between the scene and the battles of the *Iliad*.

The relationship of Jason's *aristeia* to combat in the *Iliad* has a crucial bearing on the reader's evaluation of it as a heroic exploit; it is in this scene that his prowess is tested to the greatest extent. Can Jason's achievements compare with those of the greatest Homeric warriors, or, like those of a modern athlete, are they diminished by the artificial aid he has received?[144]

In the foregoing discussion, I have drawn attention to the way the language and conventions of Homeric battles are used in Jason's *aristeia*. In this respect it continues the approach established in the two more orthodox battles in the first two books. However, it does so in an even-handed way; it would be wrong to see the Iliadic colouring of the scene as relevant purely to Jason and not to Aeetes and the Earthborn. Naturally, in a passage such as a simile describing com-

[142] Suggested by Carspecken (1952), 92–93.

[143] Cf. Fusillo (1985), 330–34.

[144] For some recent differing views, cf. Schwinge (1986), 112–16, R. L. Hunter, "'Short on Heroics': Jason in the *Argonautica*," *CQ* 38 (1988), 448–51, 15–25, Lawall and De Forest (1991), 343–45.

bat, the allusion will 'rub off' on both sides, but enough of the echoes of Homer pertain only to one side or the other for there to be some significance in their distribution. Most of the similarities do not gain in significance from a consideration of their Homeric context; the pattern of allusions connected with *Iliad* 22 associates both Jason and Aeetes with Achilles, and much of the other Homeric phraseology in the scene applies not to Jason but to Aeetes and the Earthborn. The bizarre warriors Jason fights gain in dignity by their resemblance to the combatants in the *Iliad*, and are brought into the world of epic. Apollonius could have set a 'Homeric' Jason against opponents who are not characterised in Iliadic terms, or, conversely, made Jason the innovator. Instead, all persons and actions are related to conventional epic warfare. It is possible to interpret Jason's resemblance to Achilles both in Jason's favour and against him; the association of Jason with Achilles could make him a figure of comparable stature to him, or it could diminish him by emphasising the difference in the methods by which each of them triumphs. The final decision in this matter is left to the reader.

No appropriation of the language of the *Iliad* can disguise the different tasks Jason has to perform, or the magical nature of the help he is given. Although this kind of help is not afforded to warriors in the *Iliad*, Jason for his part does not have the immediate assistance of any of the Olympians which they often receive. And whereas Iliadic warriors do not use herbal substances to give themselves immunity from harm, there is a notable precedent in the *Odyssey*, in the *moly* which Odysseus takes to Circe's house (cf. p. 180). Indeed, at Jason's *aristeia* allusions to a number of Odyssean episodes converge; Odysseus' encounters with the Cyclops, with Circe and with the Phaeacians (cf. pp. 137–38, 182–83, 242) are all partial models for these events as they are for events throughout Book 3. Here lies the secret of Jason's success; it is not enough for him to follow the Iliadic style of combat which he practised in the battle against the Doliones, but Odyssean guile is also required.

The battle in Book 1 has demonstrated that Jason can be victorious in conventional heroic combat, but this victory soon turns sour when the defeated opponent turns out to be his recent host. Like Odysseus, who learns to be wary after his headlong attack on the Cicones proves to be misguided, Jason has to find alternative approaches to difficult situations where an attempt to fight his way out with individual prowess alone would prove to be disastrous.

d) *Apsyrtus and the Colchians*

The final battle scene in the *Argonautica* is the assault on one of the Colchian ships which follows the murder of Apsyrtus (4.482–91). Ship-to-ship fighting does not occur in Homer, but Apollonius forgoes the opportunity to write an extended scene in this unusual setting; instead he condenses the action to the barest outline, leaving only similes to suggest the debt to the battles of the *Iliad.*

At 4.485–87 a pair of similes describe the rout of the Colchians in Homeric terms; despite their brevity, they take up a large proportion of the brief scene. The first, like 1.1049–50, describes hawks pursuing doves, and takes up where the earlier simile ended as they catch their prey. The second, a lion simile, also 'continues' an earlier example (1.1243–47), where a wild animal threatens a flock, echoing both it and the *Iliad* (p. 121).[145]

Despite its brevity, the battle resembles in some respects the earlier scenes of group combat in Books 1 and 2 and is equally one-sided (4.488). As already stated, one of the similes continues a simile in the battle in Book 1; as in the battle against the Bebryces (2.122), Jason arrives late on the scene (4.489–91) and the fighting follows the killing of the leader of the enemy party by one of the Argonauts.[146] However, the similarities in phraseology and situation only draw attention to the change in the Argonauts' behaviour, as they become aggressors instead of defenders. The most unusual thing about this battle is that it takes place at all, when the Argonauts have hitherto chosen alternatives to fighting wherever possible. Jason does not now have the excuse of not knowing who his enemy is, and he employs the same reliance on violence which Aeetes earlier threatened to use against him.

e) *Frustrated Battles*

In addition to the battles in the *Argonautica*, there are several points where open warfare is threatened but does not take place.[147] These

---

[145] Il. 5.161–62 is itself a continuation of a simile at Il. 5.136–43; cf. Lonsdale (1990), 53.

[146] The scenes are also linked by the bull-slaying simile (2.91, 4.468). The similarities to the battles in Books 1 and 2 and their implications are discussed by Rose (1984), 133–35.

[147] On armings without fighting in Apollonius, cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 469–72. Phinney

stand in relation to actual battle as a storm at sea does to a shipwreck; the reader expects events to move to their natural conclusion, but they stop short of it and take a different turn. These scenes may be introduced with some form of the phrase τεύχεα δύνειν 'put on armour' (1.627–28, 1.635, 1.638 (in a modified form), 4.1180). There is at least one instance in each of the four books; the Lemnians in Book 1 (1.634–38), the Amazons in Book 2 (2.985–95), Aeetes in Book 3 (3.1225–37) and Aeetes and the Colchians (4.214–25) and the Colchians, Argonauts and Phaeacians in Book 4 (4.1000–10, 4.1055–57, 4.1180–81).

Two notable cases of 'frustrated battles' are the arming of the Lemnian women when the Argonauts appear, and the threat of force presented by the party of Colchians on Scheria. Lemnos and Scheria are also the scenes of the consummation of Jason's two love affairs during the course of the expedition, an intriguing substitution of *militia amoris* for real conflict. Another conflict which nearly happens, against the Amazons (2.985–95), is prevented when the wind changes and the Argonauts depart. It is thus the inverse of the battle against the Doliones, which is brought about by an unfavourable wind.[148]

Two of these potential battles, that against the Lemnians and that against the Amazons, are against women; the third would have resembled the *Iliad* in its origins, with the armed party come to claim a woman who has eloped (cf. p. 255). Fighting and sexual activity are thus linked, as they are in the battle in Book 1, in which Cyzicus' new marriage is a prominent theme.

The Lemnian women arm when they learn of the arrival of strangers on their shores (1.635–38); like the Doliones, they believe mistakenly that enemies are at hand (1.636–37). The transformation of the potential enemies into compliant lovers is reflected in the simile at 1.879–85; bees are used in a number of Iliadic battle similes as well as in one in the battle in Book 2 (2.130–36) (cf. pp. 97–98). The context contains further references to *Iliad* 2 as well as resemblance to a particular simile used at Il. 2.87–90 of the assembling Greeks.[149]

(1963) 156 and n. 25 attributes them to Apollonius' comparative avoidance of battle scenes.

[148] On the rôle of winds in the *Argonautica*, cf. Williams (1991), 211–20. Apollonius' observation that the battle would not have been bloodless (2.986) may be a pointed comment on the lack of blood in the first two battles.

[149] Heracles' complaint (1.865–74) resembles Thersites' (Il. 2.225–42) (esp. 1.872–74/Il. 2.236–38 (and Il. 2.226–27), on the need for women felt by the expeditions' leader). Both Heracles and Thersites wish to sail away, leaving their leader behind if necessary. Cf. Hunter (1993), 35, Clauss (1993), 138–40.

A simile orginally used of warriors is transferred to women who wear armour and who in some versions actually fought the Argonauts.[150]

Other elements in the Lemnos episode use the conventions of war in the *Iliad*: an embassy of heralds, an assembly with a debate and especially Jason's cloak, which is a pendant to the Shield of Achilles. The content of the debate resembles an account of one held by the Trojans, as the Lemnian women discuss whether to welcome the Argonauts; the Trojans similarly debate what to do with the Wooden Horse at Od. 8.504–10.

The Argonauts express a willingness to fight both against (2.1220–25, 3.183) and on behalf of (3.351–53, 3.394–95) the Colchians, though this never happens. Aeetes puts on his armour twice, once in the arming scene in Book 3 already discussed (3.1225–45), and once just after Jason and Medea have fled (4.222–24). As before, his son helps him with the chariot (4.224–25; cf. 3.1235–36), but there are two significant changes; rather than holding the chariot for Aeetes to mount, he now takes the reins, and he is given the name Apsyrtus rather than Phaethon. It is under the name Apsyrtus that he is murdered later in the book. By taking a more active role, he assumes responsibility, and will soon be standing in for Aeetes as he leads a party of Colchians in pursuit, as Patroclus (another charioteer (Il. 17.439)) replaces Achilles on the battlefield. Jason, too, has just armed himself (4.206) and wielded his sword to cut the mooring rope (4.207–8). As well as giving an air of solemnity to the Argonauts' departure from Colchis, this indicates that he is prepared for an imminent combat which does not in fact occur; but Aeetes' arming is a pair to it, as if he were preparing to do battle with Jason himself, instead of sending others in his place.

The Argonauts prepare for battle when they meet the party of Colchians on Scheria (4.1000), and the fact that they are armed is mentioned a number of times (4.1055–6, 4.1124, 4.1156); the Phaeacians themselves also arm (4.1180). However, there is no repeat of the massacre of the other party of Colchians earlier in the book (4.485–89). Instead, the Colchians agree to abide by Alcinous' judgement (4.1206–10); as in the Lemnian episode, diplomacy is used to avoid open warfare.

---

[150] Σ ad 1.769–73, cf. A. C. Pearson, ed., *The Fragments of Sophocles* (Cambridge: 1911–17) v. 2, 52–53. Comparison of *women* to bees does not occur in Homer; Hesiod unflatteringly likens women to drones (Th. 594–99), though Apollonius' bees work (1.881–82).

Fränkel (above, n. 147) analysed 'frustrated battles' in terms of arming scenes, and this approach works best in the scenes involving Aeetes. Aeetes' arming in Book 4 shows his willingness to fight; this is frustrated in the short term, but is carried out vicariously by the party of Colchians led by his son Apsyrtus. Aeetes' arming in Book 3 reminds the reader of the usual procedure of warriors before going into battle in Homer, which differs from Jason's approach to warfare. However, the analogies with the action of the *Iliad* can be taken further than just by comparing arming scenes. Many of these instances of arming without combat are associated with assemblies, and are a part of the quasi-formularity which these scenes have in the *Argonautica*.[151] The behaviour of the Lemnians, Aeetes, and the Phaeacians and Colchians on Drepane in their dealings with the Argonauts is conducted with the diplomatic manoeuvres which the Greeks and Trojans in the *Iliad* use in their relations with one another when they are not actually fighting.

The 'frustrated battles' are one instance of Apollonius' tendency to lead the reader to expect an outcome which then does not take place, seen also (for example) in his treatment of the Cattle of the Sun.[152] The prospect of battle is raised to tease the reader; even when battle is actually joined, further surprises are in store as familiar aspects of epic battle narrative are redeployed in new ways. In addition, these scenes indicate that battle will be replaced by other ways of dealing with conflicts. This is especially important in the Phaeacian episode, where the arrival of armed Colchians to take Medea home creates a situation which is parallel to the opening of the Trojan War. The various ways in which the threatened conflicts are settled illustrate the alternatives to violence which work in the Argonauts' favour; luck, sexual attraction, diplomacy and guile.

Almost all of the open fighting in the *Argonautica* is contained in two short scenes early in the poem, which use in a brief space many of the devices found in the battles of the *Iliad*. Nevertheless, the influence of Homeric battles is much more pervasive than this situation would suggest; firstly phraseology which recalls them is used to describe

---

[151] On assemblies in Apollonius, cf. Clare (1993), 152–60, 165–67; he associates the phrases τεύχεα δύνειν and ἐνὶ τεύχεσιν 'in armour' with these scenes.

[152] On anticipated events which fail to occur in the *Iliad*, cf. J. V. Morrison, *Homeric Misdirection: False Predictions in the Iliad* (Michigan: 1992) ch. 6.

violent death and other activities which take place off the battlefield, following a practice already established in Homer. The most extended example of this is Jason's *aristeia* at the end of Book 3, which appropriates characteristics of Iliadic battles, especially the simile, to describe a scene with no convenient Homeric model. While in these passages battles are recalled where they might not be expected, in other scenes the fighting which is about to happen is avoided. Unlike the recurrent scenes which were considered in the previous chapter, the battles and the passages which recall battles often do not show an immediately clear relationship to a particular Homeric passage; in these cases it is the totality of the battles in the *Iliad*, and the conventions which regulate them, which constitute the source of the allusion.

1.1026 σὺν δ' ἔλασαν μελίας τε καὶ ἀσπίδας ἀλλήλοισιν,
ὀξείῃ ἴκελοι ῥιπῇ πυρός, ἥ τ' ἐνὶ θάμνοις
αὐαλέοισι πεσοῦσα κορύσσεται.

(With spears and shields they clashed together like a fierce blast of flame which shoots up as it seizes upon dry scrub.)

Il. 11.155 ὡς δ' ὅτε πῦρ ἀΐδηλον ἐν ἀξύλῳ[153] ἐμπέσῃ ὕλῃ,
πάντῃ τ' εἰλυφόων ἄνεμος φέρει, οἱ δέ τε θάμνοι
πρόρριζοι πίπτουσιν ἐπειγόμενοι πυρὸς ὁρμῇ·
ὡς . . . πίπτε κάρηνα. . . .

(As when annihilating fire falls on a thick forest scrub, and the wind carries it billowing all over, and the bushes are brought down headlong in the flames' overwhelming onslaught, so . . . [they] . . . went down. . . .)

1.1049 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι εἴξαντες ὑπέτρεσαν, ἠΰτε κίρκους
ὠκυπέτας ἀγεληδὸν ὑποτρέσσωσι πέλειαι.

(The Doliones who survived yielded their position and fled, as flocks of doves flee before swift hawks.)

Il. 22.139 ἠΰτε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν,
ῥηϊδίως οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν· . . .
143 ὡς ἄρ' ὅ γ' ἐμμεμαὼς ἰθὺς πέτετο, τρέσε δ' Ἕκτωρ. . . .

(As a hawk in the mountains, quickest of all flying things, swoops after a trembling dove with ease. . . . So Achilles flew straight for Hector in full fury, and Hector fled away from him. . . .)

2.111 οὖτα Βιαντιάδαο κατὰ λαπάρην Ταλαοῖο
ἀλλά μιν οὐ κατέπεφνεν, ὅσον δ' ἐπὶ δέρματι μοῦνον
νηδυίων ἄψαυστος ὑπὸ ζώνην τόρε χαλκός.

[153] Σ^T ad Il. 11.155 defines ἄξυλος as 'unhewn', hence ξηροτάτη καὶ πρὸς καῦσιν ἐπιτηδεία, 'very dry and suitable for burning' represented by αὐαλέοισι 'dry' in 1.1028.

([Oreites] wounded Talaos, son of Bias, in the side. He did not kill him, however, as the bronze spear pierced his belt and grazed only his skin without entering the vital parts.)

Il. 14.516 Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἄρ' ἔπειθ' Ὑπερήνορα, ποιμένα λάων,
οὖτα κατὰ λαπάρην, διὰ δ' ἔντερα χαλκὸς ἄφυσσε
δῃώσας·

(And then the son of Atreus stabbed Hyperenor, shepherd of his people, in the side. The bronze cut through and let his bowels gush out....)

3.1259 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀρήϊος ἵππος, ἐελδόμενος πολέμοιο,
σκαρθμῷ ἐπιχρεμέθων κρούει πέδον, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
κυδιόων ὀρθοῖσιν ἐπ' οὔασιν αὐχέν' ἀείρει·

(As a war-horse, longing for the fray, paws the ground prancing and neighing, its neck held up proudly and its ears forward....)

Il. 6.506 (= Il. 15. 263–68)
ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων,
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῖο,
κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὤμοις ἀΐσσονται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐηφι πεποιθώς,
ῥίμφα ἑ γοῦνα φέρει μετά τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων·

(As when some stalled horse who has fed full at the manger breaks his halter and gallops thudding across the plain, eager for his usual bathe in the lovely flow of a river, and glorying as he runs. He holds his head high, and the mane streams back along his shoulders: sure of his own magnificence, his legs carry him lightly to the haunts where the mares are at pasture.)

3.1351 ... συΐ εἴκελος, ὅς ῥά τ' ὀδόντας
θήγει θηρευτῇσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν, ἀμφὶ δὲ πολλὸς
ἀφρὸς ἀπὸ στόματος χαμάδις ῥέε χωομένοιο.

(... like a wild boar which sharpens its tusks against men who hunt it and streams of foam flow to the ground from its angry mouth.)

Il. 13.471 ἀλλ' ἔμεν', ὡς ὅτε τις σῦς οὔρεσιν ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς,
ὅς τε μένει κολοσυρτὸν ἐπερχόμενον πολὺν ἀνδρῶν
χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, φρίσσει δέ τε νῶτον ὕπερθεν·
ὀφθαλμὼ δ' ἄρα οἱ πυρὶ λάμπετον· αὐτὰρ ὀδόντας
θήγει, ἀλέξασθαι μεμαὼς κύνας ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρας·

([Idomeneus] stood his ground, like a boar in the mountains sure of his power, who faces a great rabble of men coming against him in a solitary place, and bristles the ridge of his back: his eyes flash with fire, and he whets his tusks, ready to beat off dogs and men.)

3.1355 φρῖξεν δὲ περὶ στιβαροῖς σακέεσσι
δούρασί τ' ἀμφιγύοις κορύθεσσί τε λαμπομένῃσιν
Ἄρηος τέμενος φθισιμβρότου· ἵκετο δ' αἴγλη
νειόθεν Οὔλυμπον δὲ δι' ἠέρος ἀστράπτουσα.

(The enclosure of Ares the man-destroyer bristled with stout shields and

sharpened spears and shining helmets; the gleam flashed through the air, reaching all the way from the earth to Olympus.)

Il. 13.339 ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη φθισίμβροτος ἐγχείῃσι
μακρῇς, ἃς εἶχον ταμεσίχροας· ὄσσε δ' ἄμερδεν
αὐγὴ χαλκείη κορύθων ἄπο λαμπομενάων
θωρήκων τε νεοσμήκτων σακέων τε φαεινῶν
ἐρχομένων ἄμυδις.[154]

(The murderous battle shivered with the long spears they held to cut through flesh: their eyes were blinded in the flash of bronze from shining helmets and new-polished corselets and bright shields as the men came on in their masses.)

3.1228 χρυσείην δ' ἐπὶ κρατὶ κόρυν θέτο τετραφάληρον
λαμπομένην....

(On his head [Aeetes] placed a golden helmet, four-bossed....)

3.1240 (Aeetes) οἷος δ' Ἴσθμιον εἶσι Ποσειδάων ...

(In the manner of Poseidon when he proceeds ... to the Isthmian Games.)

3.1296 πρόσθε δέ οἱ σάκος ἔσχεν ἐναντίον....

([Jason] held his shield in front of him....)

3.1350 ... μέγαν δ' ἐμπλήσατο θυμὸν

([Jason] filled his great heart....)

Il. 22.312 ὁρμήθη δ' Ἀχιλεύς, μένεος δ' ἐμπλήσατο θυμὸν
ἀγρίου, πρόσθεν δὲ σάκος στέρνοιο κάλυψε
καλὸν δαιδάλεον, κόρυθι δ' ἐπένευε φαεινῇ
τετραφάλῳ· καλαὶ δὲ περισσείοντο ἔθειραι
χρύσεαι, ἃς Ἥφαιστος ἵει λόφον ἀμφὶ θαμειάς.
οἷος δ' ἀστὴρ εἶσι μετ' ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ....

(And Achilles charged against him, his heart filled with savage fury. In front of his chest he held the covering of his lovely decorated shield, and the bright four-bossed helmet nodded on his head, with the beautiful golden hairs that Hephaestus had set thick along the crest shimmering round it. Like the Evening Star on its path among the stars in the darkness of the night....)

Cf. also:

3.1229 (of Aeetes' helmet)
λαμπομένην, οἷόν τε περίτροχον ἔπλετο φέγγος
Ἠελίου, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀνέρχεται Ὠκεανοῖο.

(... its gleam was like the encircling brilliance of Helios when he first rises from Ocean.)

Il. 22.134 ἀμφὶ δὲ χαλκὸς ἐλάμπετο εἴκελος αὐγῇ
ἢ πυρὸς αἰθομένου ἢ ἠελίου ἀνιόντος.[155]

(... and the bronze on [Achilles'] body shone like the light of a blazing fire or the sun when it rises.)

3.1272 ὅσσον τ' ἐκ βαλβῖδος ἐπήβολος ἅρματι νύσσα

---

[154] Other Homeric passages also contribute, cf. Campbell, *Echoes*, ad loc.

[155] On this parallel, cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 437.

γίνεται, ὁππότ' ἄεθλα καταφθιμένοιο ἄνακτος
κηδεμόνες ... τίθενται.

(... by the same distance as the winning-post which a chariot must reach is from the starting-gate, whenever the kinsmen of a king who has died hold games....)

Il. 22.162 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀεθλοφόροι περὶ τέρματα μώνυχες ἵπποι
ῥίμφα μάλα τρωχῶσι· τὸ δὲ μέγα κεῖται ἄεθλον,
ἢ τρίπος ἠὲ γυνή, ἀνδρὸς κατατεθνηῶτος.

(As when champion strong-footed horses wheel round the turning-posts running at full stretch, when a great prize is there to be won, a tripod or a woman, in the funeral games for a man who has died....)

3.1293 αὐτὰρ ὁ τούς γε,
εὖ διαβάς, ἐπιόντας, ἅ τε σπιλὰς εἰν ἁλὶ πέτρη
μίμνει ἀπειρεσίῃσι δονεύμενα κύματ' ἀέλλαις.

(... but Jason planted his feet firmly apart and withstood their charge as a rough rock in the sea withstands the waves whipped up by ceaseless storms.)

Il. 15.618 ἴαχον γὰρ πυργηδὸν ἀρηρότες, ἠΰτε πέτρη
ἠλίβατος μεγάλη, πολιῆς ἁλὸς ἐγγὺς ἐοῦσα,
ἥ τε μένει λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα
κύματά τε τροφόεντα, τά τε προσερεύγεται αὐτήν·

(They closed wall-like against him and stood their ground, like a huge sheer cliff at the edge of the grey sea, which stands against the shrill winds on their rapid pathways and the waves that swell large and burst on it.)

3.1370 Κόλχοι δὲ μέγ' ἴαχον, ὡς ὅτε πόντος
ἴαχεν ὀξείῃσιν ἐπιβρομέων σπιλάδεσσι·

(The Colchians gave a great roar, like the roar of the sea as it thunders against sharp rocks....)

Il. 2.394 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγ' ἴαχον, ὡς ὅτε κῦμα
ἀκτῇ ἐφ' ὑψηλῇ, ὅτε κινήσῃ Νότος ἐλθών,
προβλῆτι σκοπέλῳ·

(... the Argives roared loud, like the waves on a sheer headland, when the south wind whips them with its coming, and they roar against a jutting cliff....)

4.486 ... ἠὲ μέγα πῶϋ λέοντες
ἀγρότεροι κλονέουσιν ἐνὶ σταθμοῖσι θορόντες.

(... or savage lions rush into stalls and scatter a large herd of sheep.)

1.1246 ἐνὶ σταθμοῖσι νομῆες
ἔλσαν....

(... the shepherds have put them away safe in their stalls....)

Il. 15.323–24 ἢ πῶϋ μέγ' οἰῶν / θῆρε ... κλονέωσι,

(As when two wild beasts stampede ... a great flock of sheep....)

Il. 5.161 λέων ἐν βουσὶ θορών....

(As a lion springs among cattle....)

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ARGONAUTS AND THE WANDERINGS OF ODYSSEUS

1. *Introduction*

Since the plot of the *Argonautica* consists mainly of a sea voyage, the *Odyssey* is its most natural model from ancient epic, a model which can be invoked in various ways and at various levels.[1] On the most general level, the voyage itself gives a comparable structure to the poem; Apollonius takes over wide-ranging Odyssean themes such as that of hospitality and its absence and the development of character as the result of experiences during the voyage.[2] Certain kinds of event occur the same number of times in the two voyages; both Jason and Odysseus have two sexual adventures during their travels, and, like Odysseus, the Argonauts are twice almost home when they are blown off course.[3] There are also structural similarities between the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica* in the ordering and juxtaposition of events.

Both the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica* set a boundary between the 'fantastic' and the normal world. On the outward journey in Apollonius this boundary comes at the Symplegades; the remainder of Book 2 contains chthonic elements and describes the outlandish customs of non-Greeks, ending at Colchis, the point furthest from the Greek world. On the return voyage, the 'Odyssean' section in Book 4 is a transition between the barbarian lands inhabited by Colchians, Celts and Illyrians, and the Greek world (cf. 4.1228–31). There is a further twist to the route; the Argonauts still face a jour-

---

[1] On the definition of space in the *Argonautica* with regard to Homer, cf. Clare (1993), 112–22.

[2] Hospitable: Lemnos, Cyzicus, Phineus, Lycus, the Phaeacians; in the *Odyssey*, Circe, Aeolus, Calypso, the Pheaecians. Inhospitable: the Bebryces, Colchis, Circe; in the *Odyssey* the Cyclops, the Laestrygonians. Phinney (1963), 153–54 notes that many of the welcomes in the *Argonautica* are soon followed by gloomy events. On Odysseus' development of character, cf. R. B. Rutherford, "The Philosophy of the *Odyssey*," *JHS* 106 (1986), 145–62.

[3] Sexual adventures: Hypsipyle and Medea; in the *Odyssey*, Circe and Calypso. Almost home: 4.575–80, 4.1228–36, Od. 9.79–81, Od. 10.29–55.

ney to Libya before they reach Thessaly via Crete and Aegina, and it is there that they come closest to losing their *nostos*, paradoxically in a place which is closer to Alexandria itself than anywhere else on the journey.[4] On the voyage back, the Greek world is re-entered, as in the *Odyssey*, with a visit to the Phaeacians, though magic is used afterwards on Talos and the threat from Medea's witchcraft is never lifted. The transition is thus incomplete.

On a more detailed level, there are correspondences between specific episodes in the two epics. Some of the settings and characters which feature in Odysseus' adventures are introduced directly in Book 4; the implications and function of these scenes are discussed in section 7. The other Odyssean incidents are recalled indirectly in other episodes in the *Argonautica*. Most of the episodes which appear directly in Book 4 are also used less obviously elsewhere; for example, the Circe episode contributes to events on Lemnos, with Phineus and in Colchis, and to the characterisation of Medea and of Aeetes. The Sirens' song appears in the mouths of the goddesses in Libya. The Homeric Wandering Rocks influence the Symplegades, and most noticeably the palace and court at Colchis and events there recall the Phaeacian court. Only in Book 4, after most of these episodes have been used indirectly, are their Odyssean originals described.

The episode whose Argonautic credentials are explicitly given in the *Odyssey*, the passage of the Wandering Rocks, is clearly the basis both for the Symplegades in Book 2 and for the Wandering Rocks in Book 4. It is thus a paradigm for the other Odyssean adventures whose basis in the Argo legend is less secure and whose fragmentation in the *Argonautica* is more subtle. Apollonius' Symplegades and Wandering Rocks themselves each combine allusions to several Odyssean scenes, indicating that a simple one-to-one mapping of *Odyssey* on to *Argonautica* is inadequate to explain the relationship between the two epics.

The allusions to Odysseus' wanderings outside the 'Odyssean' part of Book 4 allow more complex patterns to be built up; the model can be fragmented as different aspects of it are used, different parts of the poem are linked as the same model recurs, and future events can be foreshadowed by hinting at an Odyssean scene which will be used more obviously in the final book. More generally, the extensive

[4] Cf. S. Jackson, "Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Euphemus, a Clod and a Tripod," *Illinois Classical Studies* 12 (1987), 28.

allusions to the wanderings structure the whole work, continually invoking Homeric precedent and transforming the familiar Odyssean material into new guises.

In what follows I shall consider allusions to Odysseus' adventures in the order in which these adventures occur in the *Odyssey*; this allows different treatments of the same episode to be considered together.

2. *The Cicones and the Colchians*

The first adventures Odysseus has after leaving Troy are his encounters with the Cicones and the Lotus-Eaters. These are recalled in parts of Book 4, though the allusions are not so striking as those to some of Odysseus' later adventures.

The Cicones are similar to the Colchians who assemble after the Argonauts depart, and in particular to the party which accompanies Apsyrtus; both groups are hostile to people who are just beginning their voyage home. The Cicones can fight from chariots or on foot (Od. 9.49–50); Aeetes appears in a chariot (4.219–25), while the other Colchians are apparently on foot. The clearest verbal similarity is the two similes in which both groups of people are compared to leaves in their large numbers (4.216–17/Od. 9.51, both using the words ὅσα φύλλα 'as many as leaves'). Like Odysseus (Od. 9.41), the Argonauts make off with both women (Medea) and possessions (the Fleece) belonging to those whose land they have just visited. The Cicones summon some other supporters (Od. 9.47), in the same way as the Colchians gather (4.214). Both episodes end with someone crying an invocation before their ship sets sail (4.228–38, Od. 9.64–66). As in Homer, the pursuit of the raiders culminates in a fight by their ships (4.482–91, Od. 9.54–61), though in Apollonius the Argonauts suffer no loss and the encounter takes place later in the book and a long way from the home of those who have suffered loss.

There are programmatic reasons why Apollonius should recall the beginning of Odysseus' voyage as the Argonauts leave Colchis. The allusion signals that the whole of the voyage back will be comparable to Odysseus' return journey, and is clearer in the light of the extensive references to the *Odyssey* later in the book.

3. *The Lotus-Eaters and Libya*

In Homer, the battle against the Cicones is followed by a nine-day storm in which Odysseus' fleet is driven by the north wind (Od. 9.80–83). In Apollonius there is a similar storm as the Argonauts leave Drepane, which results in their being blown off course to Libya (4.1232–34). This too lasts nine days, with a north wind; the similarity in length, stressed by the expansion ἐννέα πάσας νύκτας ὁμῶς καὶ τόσσα . . . ἤματα 'for nine whole nights and as many days' (4.1233–34), emphasises the borrowing of this detail. Both storms occur off the Peloponnese, though the Argonauts are near the Echinades (4.1230–31), whereas Odysseus is off Cape Malea (Od. 9.80–81).[5] The Argonauts are near Ithaca, which recalls also the other occasion when Odysseus was blown off course from the same region, after leaving Aeolus (Od. 10.28–55). This is another nine-day voyage which is echoed directly:

4.1233 ἐννέα πάσας
νύκτας ὁμῶς καὶ τόσσα φέρ᾽ ἤματα
(. . . for nine whole nights and as many days it drove them . . .)
Od. 10.28 ἐννῆμαρ μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ·
('. . . for nine days and through nine nights we sailed on . . .')

The allusion is further reinforced by the verbal similarity between the two storms (cf. p. 147); the two occasions when Odysseus is blown off course are thus combined at this point. As in the *Odyssey*, a voyage of nine days is used to mark an important transition.[6]

After leaving Scheria Odysseus is conveyed smoothly to Ithaca and the end of his travels in the *Odyssey*; the Argonauts, starting from the same place, reach one of their most formidable obstacles. The preceding episodes, which were all taken directly from the *Odyssey*, and the final neutralising of the Colchian pursuit on Drepane, encourage the reader to expect that the Argonauts will likewise reach Greece without further incident, but instead of leading home their route now recalls an earlier stage of Odysseus' travels.

The parallel details of the storms in *Odyssey* 9 and *Argonautica* 4 imply that the incidents which immediately follow are geographically

---

[5] The direction of the storm in Homer is vague (cf. A. Lesky, "Aia," *Wiener Studien* 63 (1948), 56), and after it the geography no longer corresponds closely to a map.

[6] On the significance of the period of nine days as a way of marking the transition between the fantastic and the real worlds, cf. Lesky (1947), 152–53.

close, since the ships involved have been blown southwards for nine days from a location off the Peloponnese. These incidents are Odysseus' encounters with the Lotus-Eaters and the Argonauts' visit to Libya.

No episode in the *Argonautica* features anything like the lotus plant, but it is in Libya that the Argonauts come closest to abandoning their voyage, in the same way as those of Odysseus' men who taste the lotus want to abandon theirs. In Apollonius the threat to return arises out of despair, not forgetfulness, but in both episodes some at least of the crew lose interest in getting going again (4.1250–307, Od. 9.94–99). Apollonius drastically relocates the incident by putting it near the end of the poem (in Homer it is the first of Odysseus' 'magical' adventures).

There are no obvious verbal similarities between the two episodes, but a reader acquainted with Herodotus and scholarship on Homer would associate the lotus with Libya. The location of the Lotus-Eaters in North Africa has been widely accepted by both ancient and modern scholars.[7] According to Herodotus 4.179, Jason was blown to Triton's land, inhabited by the Machlyes, on his way to Delphi before the expedition proper.[8] The inhabitants eat the lotus, as do their neighbours on the river Triton (Hdt. 4.177–78). Though the meeting with Triton himself in Apollonius is twelve days' march from where the Argonauts first land (4.1382–87), the Libyan goddesses who rouse Jason to action are associated with Lake Triton (4.1311).

Two other parts of the *Odyssey* are also influential. The episode contains an allusion to the other occasion when an attempt is made to delay Odysseus and his men, the episode of the Sirens, as their song is given to the goddesses of Libya (cf. p. 206), at the turning point in the Argonauts' fortunes. It also resembles Menelaus' adventures in North Africa which are described in *Odyssey* 4.[9]

The Libyan episode resembles both in its geographical location

---

[7] Cf. B. Herzhoff, "Lotos—Botanische Beobachtungen zu einem homerischen Pflanzennamen," *Hermes* 112 (1984), 268–71.

[8] Herodotus puts Jason's visit to Libya at a different point in the story from Apollonius; G. Germain, *Genèse de l'Odyssée* (Paris: 1954), 644–45 and Williams (1991), 171–72, relate it to Homer's Lotus-Eaters. Diodorus (4.56.6), probably following Timaeus, agrees with Apollonius. Apollonius combines features of both Syrtes (the Lotus-Eaters were associated with the lesser one); cf. E. Delage, *Géographie*, 255–61, Vian III, 57–64, E. Livrea, "L'episodio libyco nel quarto libro delle 'Argonautiche' di Apollonio Rodio," *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 19 (1987) 175–79.

[9] Cf. Dufner (1988), 189–95.

and in its content the adventure among the Lotus-Eaters in the *Odyssey*. At this point the paths of Odysseus and the Argonauts diverge, after running in parallel from Circe to the Phaeacians, and the ambivalent relationship of the episode to the *Odyssey* illustrates how Apollonius has only partially broken free from the precedents set in the earlier epic. It is a pivotal point on the Argonauts' return journey, notable for the experimental nature of its narrative, language and similes. By moving away from the familiar relationship to Homer, these stylistic aspects of the episode exemplify the very dislocation which the Argonauts feel from all that is familiar to them.[10] The failure to engage verbally with the most obvious precedent from the *Odyssey*, the Lotus-Eaters, is one instance of this. However, at the same time the episode retains verbal links to the *Odyssey* by also incorporating references to two Odyssean storms, the Sirens' song and the adventures of Menelaus.

4. *The Cyclops*

Homer's Cyclops Polyphemus features in post-Homeric literature, appearing in a dithyramb of Philoxenus, in Euripides' *Cyclops* and, in Apollonius' time, Theocritus' sixth and eleventh *Idylls*. He does not appear directly in the *Argonautica*, though metal-working Cyclopes are depicted on Jason's cloak (1.730–34), but the influence of the celebrated events of *Odyssey* 9 may be traced in several episodes, scattered through the four books of the poem, in which one character in particular recalls Polyphemus;[11] these characters are Heracles, Amycus, Aeetes and Talos.

In every case the 'Cyclopean' character possesses either power or physical strength, but his use or threat of violence does not benefit him. His behaviour contrasts with that of the body of Argonauts; Amycus, Talos and Aeetes, like Polyphemus, do not respect strangers, whereas Heracles forgets the expedition in his need to recover Hylas. Amycus and Aeetes, like the Cyclops, are the antithesis of the hospitable host, who is represented in the *Odyssey* by Menelaus, Nestor and Alcinous, and in the *Argonautica* by Cyzicus, Phineus, Lycus, and

---

[10] On this dislocation, cf. Goldhill (1991), 307–8, Clare (1993), 176–78.

[11] The relationship of the Doliones to the local Earthborn also alludes to *Odyssey* 9; cf. Dufner (1988), 252–58.

others. Thus the repeated allusions to this episode in the *Argonautica* reinforce a theme which is itself Odyssean.

The apparent exception to this pattern in the echoes of Homer's episode is the meeting of the sons of Phrixus and the Argonauts at the end of Book 2, where the use of *Odyssey* 9 prepares for more extensive allusions to that book in Book 3. The passage through the Symplegades, discussed in the Introduction, also makes use of the Cyclops episode, though without a specific 'Polyphemus figure'. Other post-Homeric literature where Polyphemus appears explores his comic potential; this is not suggested by Apollonius, except possibly in the Hylas episode and at certain points in Book 3. Instead the poet recalls the cruel and uncivilised side of Polyphemus, and his punishment.

a) *The Hylas Episode*

The first episode to draw on *Odyssey* 9 is the Hylas episode in Book 1; the similarities to Homer's Cyclops are given both to his namesake Polyphemus and to Heracles. Firstly, a couple of verbal parallels connect Heracles' uprooting of a tree to make his oar (1.1188–206) with the description of the Cyclops' club:

1.1193 τόσση ὁμῶς μῆκός τε καὶ ἐς πάχος ἦεν ἰδέσθαι.
(... resembled ... in both height and width.)
Od. 9.324 τόσσον ἔην μῆκος, τόσσον πάχος εἰσοράασθαι.
('... so long and so thick it loomed before us.')

1.1201 ὡς δ' ὅταν ἀπροφάτως ἱστὸν νεός, ...
(As when ... a sudden ... [squall strikes] a ship's mast. ...)
Od. 9.322 ὅσσον θ' ἱστὸν νηὸς ἐεικοσόροιο μελαίνης,
('as large as the mast of a dark twenty-oared ship')

Both passages emphasise the size of the club or tree, comparing it to a ship's mast. They are also linked by a Homeric *hapax legomenon*, πάχος 'thickness'. As usual, the language used by Homer is varied.[12] The same passage also recalls Odysseus and his men thrusting the stake into the Cyclops' eye:

1.1198 ἠνορέῃ πίσυνος· ἐν δὲ πλατὺν ὦμον ἔρεισεν ...
(... confident of his strength ... [Heracles] leant in with his broad shoulder. ...)

[12] εἰσοράασθαι 'appeared to be' is replaced by the metrically and semantically equivalent ἦεν ἰδέσθαι, νηὸς changed to νεός 'ship'.

Od. 9.382 οἱ μὲν μοχλὸν ἑλόντες ἐλάϊνον, ὀξὺν ἐπ' ἄκρῳ, ὀφθαλμῷ ἐνέρεισαν.
('My men took over the keen-pointed olive stake and thrust it into [Polyphemus'] eye.')

These passages are linked by another Homeric *hapax legomenon* ἐνερείδω 'push into', which appears in tmesis;[13] although there is only one word in common, its uniqueness in Homer and the presence of other allusions to *Odyssey* 9 near by are sufficient reason to connect the two passages. The action described is also similar, though Heracles is trying to pull something up rather than push it down.

Meanwhile, Hylas, like the Cyclops, has been out performing other tasks (1.1207–9, Od. 9.233–34, Od. 9.248–49) (p. 141). The two Homeric passages share a half-line; ποτιδόρπιον 'for supper' is almost entirely confined to these three places in Greek literature,[14] in each case in a final clause and preceded by οἱ 'for him'. The subject is Hylas, not Heracles, but οἱ refers ba ck to Heracles, as it does to the Cyclops in Homer. The Argonaut Polyphemus' reaction to the loss of Hylas shares some details with the behaviour of the Cyclops as his eye is put out. Both the Cyclops and Polyphemus react to their loss by hurling down a wooden stake (1.1263, Od. 9.396–98) as their blood becomes heated (1.1262, Od. 9.388) and by shouting (1.1272, Od. 9.399).

Apollonius draws attention to Heracles' reliance on brute strength, which is characteristic of the Odyssean Cyclops. The Cyclops is deceived and ridiculed by Odysseus, and does not suspect the trick which is played on him; Heracles too can appear ridiculous, as he does in the rowing match which leads up to the present scene.[15] This may reflect the humour at Polyphemus' expense in other literature featuring the Cyclops, such as Euripides' satyr play *Cyclops* or Theocritus' *Idylls* 6 and 11.

In the light of all these parallels, it is important that in Apollonius' Hylas episode a large part is played by Polyphemus, who bears the same name as Homer's Cyclops. It is possible that the coincidence of name encouraged Apollonius to introduce reminiscences of *Odyssey* 9, but there are sufficient other reasons to liken Heracles to the

---

[13] Cf. 1.428 (also associated with Heracles), Theoc. 7.7.

[14] Apart from in Hesychius (plural) and Matron ap. Athenaeus 4.136f in a Homeric parody; cf. Clauss (1993), 188.

[15] For example, by breaking his oar by rowing with too much force and falling sideways clutching half of it (1.1153–71); cf. Beye (1982), 93.

Cyclops, given his character elsewhere in the *Argonautica*.[16] It is more likely that the prominence of Polyphemus (who does not appear at all in Theocritus' version of the story) is a way of reminding the reader of the *Odyssey*, just as do the verbal parallels.

Polyphemus is a rather shadowy figure before Apollonius. Someone of this name appears at Il. 1.264 as a hero of Nestor's younger days; he is linked with Caeneus, so possibly he is, like him, a hero of the fight between Lapiths and Centaurs and a son of Elatus as he is in the *Argonautica* (1.40–43); however, Homer says nothing more about him, and he does not reappear until the Hellenistic era. Even his deeds are also attributed to others; according to Aristotle (fr. 514 Rose) and Strabo (12.4.3) the founder of Cios was an eponymous Cios who was an Argonaut, not Polyphemus (1.1321–23).

However, there is also an Argonaut called Euphemus, the son of Poseidon;[17] his most notable exploit is receiving the clod of earth which will mark the spot from which Africa will be colonised. In Apollonius he appears in this capacity (4.1552–71, 4.1731–64) and takes charge of the dove at the Symplegades (2.533–36, 2.555–62); his swiftness is also noted (1.179–84, 4.1465–66, 4.1482–84). The scholiast to 1.40 says that according to Socrates and Euphorion, Polyphemus the Argonaut was Poseidon's son. Laonome, Polyphemus' wife according to the scholiast to 1.1241a, is Euphemus' wife in the scholia on Pindar, Pythian 4.9 (=15b) and 4.44 (=79b). A Chian inscription of the 5th or early 4th century B.C.[18] lists Argonauts, including a Euphemus the son of Poseidon and another Ευφη.... The scholiast on Theoc. 13.7–9a says that Euphorion made Hylas Euphemus' beloved, but that on 1.1207b makes him the beloved of Polyphemus (according to Socrates). Euphemus and Cios between them do nearly everything that is ascribed to Apollonius' Polyphemus. The only things distinctive to Polyphemus are his parentage and place of origin (his father is Elatus and he comes from Larisa), and his

---

[16] This approach is taken by Kumpf (1974), 155–56, who sees the use of the *hapax legomena* ποίμνη 'flock' and πάχος as a 'learned game', introduced because of the shared name. If Clauss' conjecture (Clauss (1993), 180–97) that Poseidon is responsible for the loss of Heracles is correct, then the allusions to Poseidon's son the Cyclops are all the more appropriate.

[17] Hesiod fr. 253.2, Pi. P.4.22, P.4.43–46, Euphorion, according to Σ ad Theoc. 13.7–9a (fr. 81). His mother is Mecionice according to Σ ad Pindar P.4.9, and Hesiod; Pindar and Apollonius say he is Boeotian, though he lives in Taenarum in 1.179 and Pi. P.4.44.

[18] *Revue des Études Grecques* 3 (1890), 207–10.

fighting against the Centaurs (1.41–43). Euphemus and Polyphemus are indirectly linked by Apollonius, not in this scene, but much later in the poem, when Euphemus is one of the party which goes in search of Heracles in Libya; Canthus, one of the others, is said to be keen to ask Heracles about Polyphemus, and Polyphemus' story is completed (4.1464–77).

It is likely that the Thessalian hero was sometimes confused with the Boeotian one; this would be more likely if he were sometimes called Euphemus, as the Chian inscription suggests.[19] Homer, however, possibly knew him as Polyphemus, and Apollonius could have revived this Homeric name rather than use the other, not just to be faithful to the *Iliad* but also to remind the reader of *Odyssey* 9.[20] It is even possible that Apollonius invented the name Polyphemus for a hero who had hitherto been known as Euphemus to enhance the Odyssean connection; it would be an excellent example of the way Hellenistic poets enjoy experimenting with names.[21]

The allusions to the Cyclops episode at the loss of Hylas are associated mainly with Heracles, though these are reinforced by details which have been transferred to Polyphemus, including possibly his very name. The loss of Heracles eliminates from the expedition someone whose Cyclopean traits are shared only by opponents of the Argonauts; in this sense, as in others, Heracles is a misfit among the crew.[22]

b) *Amycus*

Both Amycus and Polyphemus are sons of Poseidon who use their advantage in physical strength to ill-treat their visitors, but are defeated by skill. Amycus' punishment is more severe than his treatment in other extant versions of the story (such as Theocritus' twenty-second *Idyll*[23]) and Polyphemus' punishment in the *Odyssey*. Amycus foreshadows

---

[19] Σ ad Pind. P. 4.256 lists four men called Euphemus but the last three are all descendants of the first, the Boeotian Argonaut.

[20] Many people are known under slightly different names in Homer from their usual later ones, such as Iphianassa for Iphigeneia (Il. 9.145) and Epicaste for Jocasta (Od. 11.271). There would have been no problem in having two Argonauts with the same name, since Apollonius has two called Iphitus, two called Iphiclus and an Argonaut Argus as well as Argus the son of Phrixus.

[21] Cf. the possible invention of the Argus who builds the Argo in Apollonius (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* (Berlin: 1924) v. 2, 245–46).

[22] Cf. Hunter (1993), 26, Clauss (1993), 205.

[23] Cf. Köhnken (1965), 90–93.

Aeetes in his harshness towards visitors and his eventual defeat.[24]

Amycus' descent from Poseidon is prominently mentioned at the opening of the scene (2.2–4), as is his other Cyclopean trait, his cruelty to strangers (2.5–7).[25] He is more civilised than the Cyclopes since he has θέμιστες 'laws' (2.17), whereas they do not (Od. 9.112), but both of them contravene the normal standards of Greek hospitality.

The echoes of *Odyssey* 9 start just before the fight:

2.59 ἀνδρῶν τε παρηΐδας αἵματι φύρσαι.
('... smearing the cheeks of men with blood.')
Od. 9.397 ἐξέρυσ' ὀφθαλμοῖο πεφυρμένον αἵματι πολλῷ.
('He pulled the blood-stained [stake] from his eye....')
(though cf. also Od. 18.21–22, p. 72)

In the act of boasting Amycus recalls Polyphemus' defeat and hence foreshadows his own. The comparison continues in a simile during the fight:

2.79 ὡς δ' ὅτε νήϊα δοῦρα θοοῖς ἀντίξοα γόμφοις
ἀνέρες ὑληουργοὶ ἐπιβλήδην ἐλάοντες
θείνωσι σφύρῃσιν....
(As when carpenters hit their mallets against ship timbers which resist as the sharp pegs are driven into them....)
Od. 9.384 ὡς ὅτε τις τρυπῷ δόρυ νήϊον ἀνὴρ
τρυπάνῳ,
('... like a ship's carpenter boring through timber with a drill....')

The two similes describe someone physically attacking Amycus/Polyphemus and begin in a similar way, but describe a different process (boring timbers/hammering nails); both activities consist of making a hole and putting something in it. In the Homeric simile, craftsmen use a ἱμάς 'leather strap', as the boxers use ἱμάντες (2.63–64, Od. 9.385–86), though for a different purpose.

The similarities continue after the boxing match into the battle which follows:

2.109 δρύψε δέ οἱ βλέφαρον, γυμνὴ δ' ὑπελείπετ' ὀπωπή.
(... tearing off the lid and leaving the eyeball exposed.)
Od. 9.389 πάντα δέ οἱ βλέφαρ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ὀφρύας εὗσεν ἀϋτμὴ
γλήνης καιομένης·
('... the heat singed eyebrow and eyelid, the eyeball was burned out....')

---

[24] Cf. Rose (1984), 117–22; on θεσμός and θέμις 'right, custom' in Apollonius' episode, cf. p. 99.

[25] Apollonius' introduction of Amycus is more like Homer than Theocritus', cf. Kurz (1982), 99.

Like Polyphemus, Amycus has countrymen who are similar to himself. The wound dealt to one of them recalls the injury inflicted on Polyphemus' eye, but has no obvious antecedent in any of the wounds dealt in the *Iliad*.[26]

After defeating their opponent, the visitors plunder his flocks (2.142–44, Od. 9.464–66). The ends of the episodes are similar with a sacrifice and a meal (2.156–63, Od. 9.548–57) and the victors sailing off at dawn (2.164–68, Od. 9.560–64), though the Argonauts have the energy for an all-night party (2.157–58), whereas Odysseus gets some sleep (Od. 9.558–59). There is a final reference to *Odyssey* 9 when the Argonauts make use of δάφνη at 2.159 and 2.166; the only bay tree in Homer overhangs the Cyclops' cave (Od. 9.183).

Theocritus' Amycus in *Idyll* 22 also recalls the Homeric Cyclops.[27] This may be because Apollonius copied Theocritus in this respect or, more probably, because Theocritus took over a feature of Apollonius' account in writing his own. Valerius Flaccus recognises the allusion to the *Odyssey* and makes it explicit when he compares the Bebryces to Cyclopes (Arg. 4.104–9).

Both the boxing match and the battle which follows make extensive use of appropriate Homeric passages, as has already been shown. Over this are laid actions, phraseology and characterisation which recall the Cyclops episode, giving a particular colour to the encounter with the Bebryces, and reinforcing the polarity of right and wrong which shapes the episode.

c) *Colchis*

Odysseus' encounter with the Cyclops is recalled both in events in Colchis itself in Book 3 and in the meeting with the sons of Phrixus at the end of Book 2. Like other Odyssean episodes which underlie Book 3, Odysseus' encounters with Circe and with the Phaeacians, the episode is particularly important in Jason's dealings with the royal family of Colchis, but is also echoed shortly beforehand, so as to alert the reader to what lies ahead.

The first allusion to the Cyclops episode in connexion with Colchis

---

[26] On the wounds dealt in the battle, cf. pp. 93–96.

[27] Cf. Kurz (1982), 107–8. Theoc. 22.44–52/Od. 9.187–92 (cf. Gow on Theoc. 22.44). There is dialogue about ξεινήϊα at Theoc. 22.60–61, cf. Od. 9.266–78, Od. 9.356–70. Amycus, like Polyphemus (Od. 9.528–35), calls on his father Poseidon (Theoc. 22.132–34).

or Colchians comes in the speech of supplication made by the shipwrecked Argus to the Argonauts (pp. 141–42). The sons of Phrixus are in the shipwrecked state which Odysseus claims to be in when he meets Polyphemus; 2.1125–27, describing the shipwreck, recall Odysseus' tale at Od. 9.283–86, though there are no verbal echoes of the Odyssean passage, which will later be recalled in Argus' speech to Aeetes in Book 3.

While the debt to *Odyssey* 9 here is obvious, there are some significant changes. In his request for ξεινήϊα 'guest-gifts', Odysseus is asking for extra favours, whereas Argus' plea for clothes is made out of necessity. Apollonius adds new titles to the Homeric Ξείνιος 'god of hospitality' (Od. 9.271), including it among other titles of Zeus.[28] The adjective describing Zeus changes from ἐπιτιμήτωρ 'avenger' to the less aggressive ἐπόψιος 'watcher over all'; like 2.1130 this suggests that, confronted with another group of sailors of his own age, Argus feels more confident than Odysseus does before Polyphemus, and also hints at the greater passivity of Zeus in Apollonius. The object of the imperative of αἰδέομαι 'revere' is changed from the gods to the suppliants themselves (2.1131, Od. 9.269), putting human beings in the foreground rather than gods.[29] As in Homer, stranger and suppliant are linked as people whom there is a divine obligation to help, suggesting (explicitly in Apollonius (2.1131) and implicitly in Homer) that since the speaker falls into both categories, he is especially deserving of assistance. This is the most obvious similarity between the two speeches. Apollonius imitates Homeric 'ring composition' in the repetition of Ἐπόψιος at the beginning and end of the appeal (2.1123, 2.1133).

Jason does not resemble the other 'Cyclopean' figures in the *Argonautica*, but the allusion to the Cyclops episode here has a thematic function because it looks ahead to the use of the same episode in Book 3. The sons of Phrixus, who despite their upbringing in Colchis are strongly aware of their ties to Greece (2.1152–53, 3.358–61), are presented as natural allies of Jason, since they share with him a resemblance to Odysseus. This unity of purpose is demonstrated in

---

[28] Ξείνιος, Ἱκέσιος 'god of suppliants' (2.1132), and Ἐπόψιος 'the watcher' (2.1133). Cf. 1.404 (sacrifice scene).

[29] αἰδέομαι with a suppliant as object is Homeric (Il. 22.124) but in its other occurrences in Apollonius it is used once intransitively (4.1048), once with δαίμονας 'gods' (4.1316), and once with Ξεινίου . . . Ζηνός 'Zeus, god of hospitality' (3.193); the verbal similarity to this last passage, as well as the parallel with *Odyssey* 9, stresses the change in the object of the verb.

Book 3 where the allusions to Odysseus' situation cover both the sons of Phrixus and the Argonauts, and Jason draws on the same speech of Odysseus as Argus does in Book 2 (as well as Odysseus' own orders to his men) when he gives instructions to the others (3.176–93, Od. 9.269–71, Od. 9.172–76) (p. 142).

As in Homer, the leader of the visiting Greeks decides to take a few companions to find out about the inhabitants of the land which they have just reached, while the rest remain behind.[30] These passages are a similar number of lines into their respective books. However, unlike Odysseus, Jason already knows about the inhabitants of the strange land from what he had learnt before setting sail and from the sons of Phrixus.[31] Aware of the danger, he advises his men to wear arms and to keep a low profile (3.176), whereas Odysseus gives no such instruction. Likewise, Jason, unlike Odysseus (Od. 9.174), does not need to ask Aeetes his identity. In each case the enquiry which the Greek leader proposes to make is phrased as a disjunction (3.179–81, Od. 9.174–76), contrasting a sympathetic, hospitable attitude with one that is disrespectful to strangers.[32]

Jason's confidence in Aeetes' reverence for Zeus Xeinios (3.192–93) recalls Odysseus' appeal to Polyphemus by the same title of Zeus, as well as Argus' supplication discussed above (2.1123–33). The internal allusion indicates the ties of obligation which Jason feels have been established between Argonauts and Colchians, giving further reason why Aeetes should return the generosity which Jason has shown to his kin. The duplication of the allusion, and the direct resemblance between Jason's speech and Argus', also emphasise the newly formed friendship between the sons of Phrixus and the Argonauts. However, the Odyssean parallel suggests that Jason's confidence is misplaced, since Polyphemus, who has no respect for strangers, does not feel himself to be bound by the usual conventions of hospitality; Aeetes proves to be a similar host, and his response contrasts completely with the outcome of Argus' appeal.

The parallels with the Cyclops episode continue as the visiting Greeks explain their situation (3.315–23, Od. 9.279–86) (pp. 142–43). Aeetes corresponds to Polyphemus, Argus to Odysseus. Aeetes expresses his interest in where the ship is moored in words echoing

---

[30] The procedure resembles that in Homer's Circe episode, though there Odysseus was in the party that stayed.

[31] The same contrast applies to Homer's Circe episode compared to Book 3 and to Apollonius' own Circe episode.

[32] Hunter on 3.176–81 considers the parallel to be humorous.

Odyssey 9, and using the Homeric formula γλαφυρῆς . . . νηός 'hollow ship'; his interest is as sinister as Polyphemus', since both wish to destroy the vessel.[33] Both Argus and Odysseus speak of a shipwreck which they endured (though Odysseus' shipwreck is one of his many fictions); the resemblance here is reinforced by word order, with the ship being mentioned at the beginning of the sentence. Both Polyphemus and Aeetes eventually concede their visitors' requests (3.404, Od. 9.356), but immediately afterwards make it clear that their offer is not as generous as it at first appears. Polyphemus gives Odysseus the dubious privilege of being the last to be eaten (Od. 9.369–70), whereas Aeetes dictates the seemingly impossible conditions which must be fulfilled before he will hand over the Fleece (3.405–21).

Aeetes reveals more Cyclopean traits during the conference he holds after the embassy from the Argonauts departs (3.576–605). Like Polyphemus, Aeetes suspects that his visitors have come to plunder his flocks (3.592–93, Od. 9.253–55).[34] Polyphemus' fears are realised directly, Aeetes' indirectly, as Odysseus manages to steal some sheep (Od. 9.464–66) and Jason escapes with the Golden Fleece. Both Polyphemus and Aeetes have been warned of disaster by oracles which they only understand too late (3.597–605, Od. 9.225–27, Od. 9.507–12). The Odyssean passage is recalled in a description of Medea's plight; Medea, like Polyphemus, ultimately suffers because of the visitors:

3.836 στεῖβε πέδον λήθῃ ἀχέων, τά οἱ ἐν ποσὶν ἦεν
θεσπέσι', ἄλλα τ' ἔμελλεν ἀεξήσεσθαι ὀπίσσω.

(. . . she hurried about without a thought for the countless griefs which were right in front of her and the others which were destined to confront her in the future.)

Od. 9.511 ὅς μοι ἔφη τάδε πάντα τελευτήσεσθαι ὀπίσσω,

('He told me all this as a thing that would later come to pass.')

Both Aeetes and the Cyclops plan to kill their visitors (3.579–83, Od. 9.369–70) and are outwitted by trickery because physical force will not suffice. Elsewhere, a parallel between Chalciope's plea to Medea and Odysseus' deliberations shows how Polyphemus and Aeetes must be overcome by guile (3.719–21/Od. 9.421–23) (p. 143). The rôle of Medea resembles that of the large ram in the *Odyssey*;[35] both

---

[33] Cf. Hunter on 3.316.
[34] Cf. Hunter on 3.592–93.
[35] Cf. 3.898–99 (Medea speaks) τὰ δὲ καλὰ τερείνης ἄνθεα ποίης | λεξάμεναι 'and

are the means of escape for the leader of the visiting party, who afterwards takes possession of them, but their very closeness to Polyphemus and Aeetes puts them beyond suspicion (3.602–4, Od. 9.447–60).

The remote place where Jason goes to invoke Hecate (3.1199–202) recalls two places in *Odyssey* 9 (p. 143). Od. 9.119–22 describes the island inhabited by goats near that which the Cyclopes inhabit; Od. 9.181 describes Polyphemus' home. Like Polyphemus, Argus ensures that the place is supplied with sheep and milk (3.1199); as at 1.1246 (and 2.1004) Apollonius takes over the Homeric *hapax legomenon* ποίμνη 'flock'. The sacrifice to Hecate is performed in a place which is like the island of goats, unvisited by human beings and set apart even from the pathways which are Hecate's usual haunt (3.1197, 3.1201–2). In Homer, the absence of cultivation and hunting is explained by the Cyclopes' having no ships (Od. 9.125–29); earlier it is stated that they do not sow (Od. 9.108–11) and lack social organisation (Od. 9.112–15).[36] The description of the ritual's setting recalls again the barbarity of Polyphemus and encourages comparison of his ways with those of the Colchians.

Though Aeetes, unlike Polyphemus, is not closely related to Poseidon, he is compared to the god in a simile (3.1240–45). Poseidon does not appear directly in the *Argonautica*; his main rôle in the *Odyssey* is as the persecutor of Odysseus, because of Polyphemus' appeal to him for revenge. The 'Poseidon-like' Aeetes is the main opponent of the Argonauts, just as Poseidon himself is hostile to Odysseus.[37]

Both Aeetes and Polyphemus pursue their visitors after they go, Aeetes with Colchian ships (4.236–40), Polyphemus with a rock (Od. 9.481–83). A final allusion to the Cyclops episode in Book 3 compares not Aeetes but Jason to Polyphemus (3.1350–53, Od. 9.290–97). The simile likening Jason to a boar as he prepares for the second part of his *aristeia* uses two phrases from *Odyssey* 9 in the same metrical position to make Jason resemble Polyphemus dashing out the brains of his victims and eating them raw.[38] Polyphemus, like

pick lovely flowers from the soft grass'/Od. 9.449 ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρῶτος νέμεαι τέρεν' ἄνθεα ποίης 'before them all you . . . crop the delicate meadow-flowers' and the implicit comparison of Medea to a sheep at 3.959.

[36] For ships and ploughing as signs of civilisation, cf. Arat. 110–11, Ovid, Met. 1.94–96 (ships), Virgil, G. 1.125–28 (ploughing), Virgil, E. 4.32–33, Tibullus 1.3.37–41 (both).

[37] Cf. Hunter on 3.1240–45.

[38] μέγαν (δ') ἐμπλήσατο 'filled his great . . .' (3.1350, Od. 9.296), χαμάδις ῥέε 'flowed

Jason, behaves like a wild animal (Od. 9.292). The implicit comparison here may show that Jason has become as strong as the Cyclops owing to the effect of the Prometheion; like Polyphemus, Jason can move a stone which would be far too heavy for ordinary men (3.1365–67, Od. 9.304–5). However, the similarity to the most repulsive action of the Cyclops is a disturbing one; seen in the light of the events of Book 4, it suggests already that Medea's influence on Jason may lead him on to brutal killing.

There are thus several parallels of plot and language between the events of Book 3 and Homer's Cyclops episode. Moreover, there may also be a further layer of reference to an allegorical interpretation of *Odyssey* 9 in which the events recounted in Homer are a coded version of a story very similar to that of the Argonauts. In this account Polyphemus' eye represented his daughter, who 'burned' with love for Odysseus and, having helped him to escape, eloped with him. This interpretation is found in the hypothesis to the Codex Palatinus[39] and in John Malalas 5.148–49 (citing Pheidias/Pheidalios of Corinth); there is a variant in which the girl falls in love with one of Odysseus' followers.[40] The hypothesis, Malalas, and Tzetzes explore the allegory further. These sources are all very late; however, Byzantine authors sometimes preserve mythological interpretations or variants not attested earlier and the diversification of the story (the girl is variously called Elpe or Arene, her lover is Odysseus, Alphenor/ Elpenor or Leion, and in Tzetzes' version the Laestrygonians recapture her) suggests that it was popular. Despite its romantic colouring, the allegory is of a type characteristic of Palaephatus, who produced Homeric allegories shortly before Apollonius' time.[41] This interpretation of Homer's Cyclops story closely parallels the plot of Book 3; if it was known to Apollonius the references to *Odyssey* 9 would be even more appropriate. The allusions to the allegorised story throughout the book would ingeniously compensate for the lack of a complete Homeric parallel for the events in Colchis.

---

to the ground' (3.1353, Od. 9.290). On the chthonic elements in Jason's *aristeia*, cf. Rose (1984), 127–30. It is here (Od. 9.295) that the typically Apollonian word ἀμηχανίη 'helplessness' appears in Homer, used of the despair of Odysseus and his men.

[39] G. Dindorf, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, v. 1 (Oxford: 1855), 4 l.25–5 l.2.

[40] Sisyphus of Cos (apud John Malalas loc. cit.), Dictys of Crete 6.5, Tzetzes, H. 10.934–45.

[41] Cf. F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris: 1956) 247–48; on this school, cf. J. Pépin, *Mythe et Allégorie* (Aubier: 1958) 147–50.

Nevertheless, there is no need to appeal to this allegory in order to account for the allusions and similarities to the Cyclops episode which permeate events from the first meeting with Argus to the climax of Jason's *aristeia*. To begin with, they associate first Argus and his brothers, then the Argonauts as a group with Odysseus. Aeetes becomes another 'Cyclops figure' with the undesirable characteristics of the others. However, towards the end of Book 3 there is a hint that Jason too may take on some of these characteristics.

d) *Talos*

The Talos episode in Book 4 recalls several Odyssean adventures, but the most important model is the Cyclops episode; the principal shared feature is that Talos, like Polyphemus, throws rocks at a ship which is a little way offshore. Although this attack does no direct injury, it leads to an encounter at a distance in which one of the parties involved is harmed.[42] There are some verbal echoes to recall the episode, firstly as Talos tears a rock off a crag and hurls it towards the ship:

4.1638 ἀπὸ στιβαροῦ σκοπέλοιο
ῥηγνύμενος πέτρας, εἶργε χθονὶ πείσματ' ἀνάψαι
Δικταίην ὅρμοιο κατερχομένους ἐπιωγήν.
([Talos] broke rocks off a great cliff and prevented them from attaching their cables to the land when they ran into the sheltered harbour of Dicte.)
Od. 9.481 ἧκε δ' ἀπορρήξας κορυφὴν ὄρεος μεγάλοιο . . .
484 ἐκλύσθη δὲ θάλασσα κατερχομένης ὑπὸ πέτρης·
('He wrenched away the top of a towering crag. . . . The sea surged up as the rock fell into it.')

The effect of Talos' behaviour is the reverse of Polyphemus'; instead of driving the ship back to land he prevents it from landing. Later, Medea gives advice in words which resemble those of the Cyclops:

4.1657 (Medea) ἀλλ' ἔχετ' αὐτοῦ νῆα θελήμονες ἐκτὸς ἐρωῆς
πετράων,
('. . . Use gentle oarsmanship to hold the ship here out of range of the rocks. . . .')
Od. 9.279 ἀλλά μοι εἴφ' ὅπῃ ἔσχες ἰὼν εὐεργέα νῆα;
('But tell me. . . . When you came here, where did your moor your ship?')

---

[42] Talos' throwing rocks at the Argonauts may be Apollonius' innovation; cf. Dufner (1988), 195–97. For the use of this part of the Cyclops episode at the Symplegades, cf. pp. 43–44.

ἔχω νῆα is used in two different senses; in Homer it means to 'keep a ship moored', in the *Argonautica* 'steer'. Talos, like Polyphemus, feels anger (4.1671 χόλον, Od. 9.480 χολώσατο). Talos and Polyphemus are both physically mutilated by those they wish to harm, though Polyphemus, unlike Talos, is not fatally hurt. In both cases the injury involves the eyes, as Odysseus blinds the Cyclops and Medea afflicts Talos with hallucinations (4.1669–72).

Both Talos and Polyphemus have close links with the gods; Polyphemus is Poseidon's son and Zeus gave Talos to Europa (4.1641–44). Both represent a stage of civilisation prior to that of the heroes of the poem; Polyphemus and the other Cyclopes lack social institutions (Od. 9.112–15, Od. 9.125–30), Talos is a survivor of the bronze age described by Hesiod (4.1641–43, Hes. WD. 143–45, WD. 158–60) (pp. 143–44). Κρονίδης 'son of Kronos', used to denote Zeus at 4.1643, also recalls Zeus' relationship to Kronos in the *Theogony*. Medea too is a 'Hesiodic' figure, since she is mentioned at Th. 961 and Th. 992–1002, but not in Homer. As in Hesiod, the bronze age is replaced by that of the heroes;[43] the transition is finally complete when Talos, the survivor of the bronze age, dies. The process of change is incorporated into the action of the poem, reminding the reader of the inevitable progress of time and the gloomy ending of Hesiod's sequence of ages.

There are other rock-throwing giants in the two epics, the Gegenes at Cyzicus (in Book 1) and the Laestrygonians (*Odyssey* 10). Moreover, there are other dangerous rocks to be avoided, the Symplegades and the Wandering Rocks; 4.1657 is built up from phrases from some of these episodes (p. 144). The final dangerous encounter in the poem recalls narrow escapes from rocks in both the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica*. In addition to alluding to the *Odyssey*, introducing the Cyclops theme for the last time, Apollonius situates Talos and the Argonauts on a Hesiodic timescale. As the poem draws to a close, themes from the two great archaic hexameter poets are combined to depict a monster who is himself archaic in comparison to the Argonauts.

e) *Conclusion*

The allusions to Homer's Cyclops form a pattern, demonstrating how strength, whether in the form of brute force, wealth or an army of

[43] The Argonauts are not named as part of Hesiod's age of heroes (WD 156–73), but clearly belong to it. On the anachronism, cf. Dufner (1988), 228–29; on Apollonius'

supporters, is not enough to give those who possess it what they want. This pattern is linked to another in which some of the same characters (Amycus and Aeetes) are associated with the Cyclops' father, Poseidon, a god who does not directly appear in the *Argonautica*. The abundance of action in the Odyssean episode provides plenty of material to be deployed in new contexts. Some of the actions of Odysseus and Polyphemus in the cave are recalled in Mysia, where Polyphemus' namesake also has a prominent part. Amycus and Aeetes both have a number of 'Cyclopean' characteristics, and the extended narrative of Book 3 provides opportunities for comparison with *Odyssey* 9, including analogies for Medea's help. Odysseus' difficult departure from the island is used in the passage of the Symplegades and the encounter with Talos.

1.1207 τόφρα δ' Ὕλας ...
δίζητο κρήνης ἱερὸν ῥόον, ὥς κέ οἱ ὕδωρ
φθαίη ἀφυσσάμενος ποτιδόρπιον....

(Meanwhile, Hylas had gone ... to look for a sacred spring, so that he would have water ready for dinner....)

Od. 9.233 ... φέρε δ' ὄβριμον ἄχθος
ὕλης ἀζαλέης, ἵνα οἱ ποτιδόρπιον εἴη.

('... carrying with him a stout bundle of dry firewood to burn at supper.')

Od. 9.248 ... ὄφρα οἱ εἴη
πίνειν αἰνυμένῳ καί οἱ ποτιδόρπιον εἴη.

('... meaning to take and drink [the milk] at his supper.')

2.1128 'τούνεκα νῦν ὑμέας γουναζόμεθ', αἴ κε πίθησθε
δοῦναι ὅσον τ' εἴλυμα περὶ χροὸς ἠδὲ κομίσσαι,
ἀνέρας οἰκτείραντες ὁμήλικας ἐν κακότητι.
ἀλλ' ἱκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἵνεκεν αἰδέσσασθε
Ξεινίου Ἱκεσίου τε· Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἱκέται τε
καὶ ξεῖνοι, ὁ δέ που καὶ ἐπόψιος ἄμμι τέτυκται.'

('Therefore we now beseech you to give us merely a covering for our bodies and to tend our needs, taking pity on men of your age who are in trouble. Show respect for suppliants and strangers, remembering Zeus the protector of strangers and suppliants: both suppliants and strangers belong to Zeus, and on our behalf he is also no doubt the observer.')

Od. 9.266 '... ἡμεῖς δ' αὖτε κιχανόμενοι τὰ σὰ γοῦνα
ἱκόμεθ', εἴ τι πόροις ξεινήϊον ἠὲ καὶ ἄλλως
δοίης δωτίνην, ἥ τε ξείνων θέμις ἐστίν.
ἀλλ' αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεούς· ἱκέται δέ τοί εἰμεν.
Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε
ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.'

---

rejection of a 'Golden Age' in the poem and his ambivalence towards Hesiod, cf. Williams (1991), 101–4.

('. . . We have reached your presence, have come to your knees in supplication, to receive, we hope, your friendly favour, to receive perhaps some such present as custom expects from host to guest. Sir, I beg you to reverence the gods. We are suppliants, and Zeus himself is the champion of suppliants and of guests; 'god of guests' is a name of his; guests are august, and Zeus goes with them.')

3.176 (Jason) 'ὦλλοι μὲν κατὰ νῆα σὺν ἔντεσι μίμνεθ' ἕκηλοι·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐς δώματ' ἐλεύσομαι Αἰήταο,
υἷας ἑλὼν Φρίξοιο δύω τ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἑταίρους.
πειρήσω δ' ἐπέεσσι παροίτερον ἀντιβολήσας,
εἴ κ' ἐθέλοι φιλότητι δέρος χρύσειον ὀπάσσαι,
ἦε καὶ οὔ, πίσυνος δὲ βίῃ μετιόντας ἀτίσσει. . . .
192 πάντες ἐπεὶ πάντῃ, καὶ ὅ τις μάλα κύντατος ἀνδρῶν,
Ξεινίου αἰδεῖται Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἠδ' ἀλεγίζει.'

('I suggest that you all remain quietly in the ship, your arms at the ready. I shall go to Aeetes' palace, together with the sons of Phrixus and two of our comrades as well, and I shall first speak to him to test whether he is willing in friendship to grant us the golden fleece or prefers to refuse and, trusting in his might, reject our quest. . . . all men, even the most outrageously shameless, always respect and observe the ordinances of Zeus, Protector of Guests.')

Od. 9.172 (Odysseus) 'ἄλλοι μὲν νῦν μίμνετ', ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σὺν νηΐ τ' ἐμῇ καὶ ἐμοῖς ἑτάροισιν
ἐλθὼν τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν πειρήσομαι, οἵ τινές εἰσιν,
ἤ ῥ' οἵ γ' ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,
ἦε φιλόξεινοι, καί σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής.'

('My friends, let the rest of you stay here. I myself with my own ship's crew will go and find what manner of men live yonder. Are they barbarous, arrogant and lawless? Are they hospitable and godfearing?')

Od. 9.269 (Odysseus) 'ἀλλ' αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεούς· ἱκέται δέ τοί εἰμεν.
Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε
ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.'

('Sir, I beg you to reverence the gods. We are suppliants, and Zeus himself is the champion of suppliants and of guests; 'god of guests' is a name of his; guests are august, and Zeus goes with them.')

3.315 (Aeetes) 'εἴπατ' ἀριφραδέως, ἠδ' οἵ τινες οἵδ' ἐφέπονται
ἀνέρες, ὅππῃ τε γλαφυρῆς ἐκ νηὸς ἔβητε.'

('. . . Tell me clearly . . . who these men are who accompany you, and where you left the hollow ship.')

3.320 (Argus) 'Αἰήτη, κείνην μὲν ἄφαρ διέχευαν ἄελλαι
ζαχρηεῖς, αὐτοὺς δ' ὑπὸ δούρατι πεπτηῶτας
νήσου Ἐνυαλίοιο ποτὶ ξερὸν ἔκβαλε κῦμα
λυγαίῃ ὑπὸ νυκτί. θεὸς δέ τις ἄμμ' ἐσάωσεν·'

('Aeetes, fierce storms soon ripped apart our ship, and as we huddled clinging to a plank in the blackness of night a wave threw us on to dry land on the island of Enyalios. Some god brought us to safety.')

Od. 9.279 ἀλλά μοι εἴφ' ὅπῃ ἔσχες ἰὼν εὐεργέα νῆα,
ἤ που ἐπ' ἐσχατιῆς ἦ καὶ σχεδόν, ὄφρα δαείω.

('But tell me a thing I wish to know. When you came here, where did you moor your ship? Was it at some far point of the shore or was it near here?')

283 νέα μέν μοι κατέαξε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων
πρὸς πέτρῃσι βαλὼν ὑμῆς ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης,
ἄκρῃ προσπελάσας· ἄνεμος δ' ἐκ πόντου ἔνεικεν·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖσδε ὑπέκφυγον αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον.

('My ship was shattered by Poseidon, who drove it upon the rocks at the edge of this land of yours; a wind had carried it in from the open sea, and the Earthshaker dashed it against a headland. I myself and my comrades here escaped the precipice of destruction.')

3.719 (Chalciope) οὐκ ἂν δὴ ξείνῳ τλαίης χατέοντι καὶ αὐτῷ
ἢ δόλον ἤ τινα μῆτιν ἐπιφράσσασθαι ἀέθλου,
παίδων εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο;

('Could you not bring yourself to devise some trick or ruse by which the stranger, who himself also asks for your help, could accomplish the challenge, for my sons' sake?')

Od. 9.421 εἴ τιν' ἑταίροισιν θανάτου λύσιν ἠδ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ
εὑροίμην· πάντας δὲ δόλους καὶ μῆτιν ὕφαινον,
ὥς τε περὶ ψυχῆς·

('. . . to find some way out from death for my comrades and myself; I set to work all my wits and cunning, for our lives were at hazard. . . .')

3.1199 θῆλυν μὲν ὄϊν γάλα τ' ἔκτοθι ποίμνης
Ἄργος ἰὼν ἤνεικε, τὰ δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἕλε νηός.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἴδε χῶρον ὅ τις πάτου ἔκτοθεν ἦεν
ἀνθρώπων. . . .

(Argus had fetched him a ewe and milk taken from a flock, but the rest he took from the ship itself. When he found a place set apart from men's paths, open to the skies. . . .)

Od. 9.119 . . . οὐ μὲν γὰρ πάτος ἀνθρώπων ἀπερύκει, . . .
122 οὔτ' ἄρα ποίμνῃσιν καταΐσχεται οὔτ' ἀρότοισιν. . . .

('. . . unstartled by any stranger's tread; . . . No flocks are found there, no ploughland either. . . .')

181 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἀφικόμεθ' ἐγγὺς ἐόντα. . . .

(When we reached the stretch of land . . .—it was not far away. . . .)

4.1641 τὸν μὲν χαλκείης μελιηγενέων ἀνθρώπων
ῥίζης λοιπὸν ἐόντα μετ' ἀνδράσιν ἡμιθέοισιν
Εὐρώπῃ Κρονίδης νήσου πόρεν ἔμμεναι οὖρον,

(Among the generation of demi-gods he was the last survivor of the bronze race of men born from ash-trees, and the son of Kronos gave him to Europa to watch over the island. . . .)

Hes. WD 143 Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ τρίτον ἄλλο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
χάλκειον ποίησ', οὐκ ἀργυρέῳ οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον,
ἐκ μελιᾶν. . . .

(Zeus the father made yet a third race of men, of bronze, not like the silver in anything. Out of ash-trees he made them....)

WD 158 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ποίησε, δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον,
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται
ἡμίθεοι....

(Zeus the son of Kronos made yet a fourth one ... a more righteous and noble one, the godly race of heroes, who are called demi-gods....)

4.1657 (Medea) ἀλλ' ἔχετ' αὐτοῦ νῆα θελήμονες ἐκτὸς ἐρωῆς
πετράων....

('Use gentle oar-strokes to hold the ship here out of range of the rocks....')

2.892 (Jason) ... ἐς Ἑλλάδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι
πετράων ἔκτοσθε·

('... return ... through the rocks to the land of Hellas.')

4.831 (Hera to Thetis) ἀλλ' ἔχε νῆα
κεῖσ'....

('Keep the ship there....')

Od. 12.204 ἔσχετο δ' αὐτοῦ
νηῦς....

('... the vessel came to rest where she was.')

5. *Aeolus*

The main influence of the Odyssean Aeolus episode lies in the use of the motif of the 'unexpected return'. This occurs first in the Argonauts' return to the Doliones in Book 1.[44] In both episodes there is a welcome from someone who offers practical help with the next stage of the voyage; the visitors leave and are blown back again to meet hostility from their former host. These narrative parallels are reinforced by verbal similarities (1.1015–18, Od. 10.48–55) (pp. 146–47).[45]

In Homer, the return is caused by the greed of Odysseus' companions, who let the winds out of the bag because they mistakenly think that it contains gold and silver, whereas in Apollonius the second landing is presented as a piece of bad luck, caused by adverse winds (1.1015–18). Aeolus is fully aware of Odysseus' identity when he reappears, and he refuses help because he believes that the gods are against his visitor (Od. 10.72–75), though this opposition is not stated explicitly. Cyzicus fails to recognise the Argonauts on their

---

[44] Cf. Hurst (1964), 235 n. 26, Shumaker (1969), 54–66, Dufner (1988), 250–52.

[45] A new adverb, ἁρπάγδην 'hurriedly' (cf. Fraser (1972), v. 2, 898 n. 169) replaces the Homeric ἁρπάξασα 'snatching'.

return, a further piece of misfortune which is not attributed either to divine will or to human folly. The motif of divine anger appears later in the episode in the need to placate Rhea before the wind will drop (1.1078–102), but if this anger is connected with the battle it is the result of the Argonauts' conflict with their former hosts, not its cause, and is easily appeased by the institution of a ritual.[46] The structure of the episode thus draws on the *Odyssey*, although the battle itself recalls the *Iliad*, as has already been shown.

The motif of the 'unexpected return', which creates the structure of the *Odyssey*'s Aeolus episode, is also used as the sons of Phrixus return to Aeetes in Colchis, again to a hostile reception.[47] This narrative device is also present on the largest scale in the plots of both epics. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus confounds the plans of the Suitors by returning to Ithaca; in the *Argonautica*, Jason returns to Thessaly with the Golden Fleece, contrary to Pelias' expectations.

Aeolus himself is mentioned only at 4.764–69, 4.777–79 and 4.819–22, during the 'Odyssean' section in Book 4, and never speaks, though the favourable west wind the Argonauts have after they leave Circe (4.886) is presumably his work. In a similar way, he appears in Homer only at the beginning of *Odyssey* 10, when Odysseus visits his floating island and later returns after his men release the winds. Instead of the Argonauts visiting Aeolus, Aeolus intrudes into a different piece of 'Odyssean' narrative, as Hera asks Iris to obtain his co-operation so that the Argonauts can pass the Wandering Rocks. As in Homer, after Aeolus first appears his name occurs again after some forty lines; in Apollonius these two appearances are linked by a distorted version of the Homeric device of repeated speech.[48]

4.819 λωφήσειν πρήσσοντα πυρὸς μένος, Ἱπποτάδην δὲ
Αἴολον ὠκείας ἀνέμων ἄϊκας ἐρύξειν. . . . .

('Hephaestus will . . . leave off his fiery blasts, and Aeolus, son of Hippotes,

---

[46] Cf. pp. 282–83.

[47] Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 343.

[48] The content of the message given to Iris is mentioned twice (4.764–69, 4.819–22). However, this is not done by exact repetition (as would have happened in Homer); the only verbal correspondences are ἵκωντα 'arrive' at line-end (4.769, 4.821) and Ζεφύρου 'west wind' (4.768, 4.821), also in the same metrical position. For example, ἀήτας . . . ἀπολλήξειεν (4.766–67)/ἄϊκας ἐρύξειν (4.820) 'calm the gusts' (ἄϊξ occurs only here, though ἀϊκή is Homeric (Il. 15.709)). Even a repeated proper name appears in a different form (Φαιηκίδα 4.769, Φαιήκων 4.822). The location of the repetition is also unexpected; it comes not when Iris delivers the message (4.777–78) but in a speech of Hera to Thetis.

will hold back the swift gusts of wind. . . .')
Od. 10.36 (cf. Od. 10.2)
δῶρα παρ' <u>Αἰόλου</u> μεγαλήτορος <u>Ἱπποτάδαο</u>.
('. . . presents . . . from Aeolus the son of great-hearted Hippotes.')

Aeolus has the same patronymic and has charge over the winds in both poems (4.765, Od. 10.21–22), though Apollonius, unlike Homer, says nothing about his home and family. The description of Aeolus as κλυτόν 'renowned' (4.778) suggests that he is so well known (from Homer) that Apollonius need not say much about him (as with Circe's harbour at 4.661). Odysseus visits Aeolus himself, but in the *Argonautica* Hera sends Iris to him and the Argonauts do not know of her intervention on their behalf. Aeolus is thus kept separate from the human world.

As in Homer, Aeolus sends the west wind to speed the ship on its way (4.768, 4.821, 4.886, Od. 10.25–26) and the other winds are (at least at first) restrained. Both poems imply that these other winds would blow the ship off course, and this possibility is realised in the *Odyssey*; the eventual result of Aeolus' intervention is thus reversed in the *Argonautica*, since it is ultimately beneficial. The arrival of the Argonauts among the Phaeacians occurs under the opposite conditions from Odysseus'; instead of a storm they have the most favourable winds possible. Though the Argonauts are heading for Thessaly, Ithaca, which they now approach, has a symbolic value for the reader, since it is the goal of Odysseus' voyage. Their approach to the island emphasises how close they are to being safely home in the Greek world, as well as recalling the *Odyssey* again. The storm which takes Odysseus away from Ithaca is recalled *after* Apollonius' Phaeacian episode, as the Argonauts are blown off course to Libya (4.1231–34, Od. 10.29, Od. 10.48–49) (p. 147).

As in the *Odyssey*, Aeolus is not the subject of of a lengthy episode, but his brief appearance is, appropriately enough, inserted into the most 'Odyssean' part of the *Argonautica*. The *Odyssey*'s Aeolus episode also contributes an important theme to the *Argonautica*, the 'unexpected return' which appears in at least two other scenes in the epic.

1.1016 ἀλλὰ <u>θύελλαι</u>
ἀντίαι <u>ἁρπάγδην</u> ὀπίσω <u>φέρον</u>, ὄφρ' ἐπέλασσαν
<u>αὖτις</u> ἐυξείνοισι Δολίοσιν.
(. . . but gusts from the opposite direction seized the ship and blew her back until they once again reached the land of the hospitable Doliones.)
Od. 10.48 τοὺς δ' αἶψ' <u>ἁρπάξασα</u> <u>φέρεν</u> πόντονδε <u>θύελλα</u>
κλαίοντας. . . .

('. . . in a moment a tempest had seized my crew and was driving them—now all in tears—back to the open sea. . . .')

54 αἱ δ' ἐφέροντο κακῇ ἀνέμοιο θυέλλῃ
αὖτις ἐπ' Αἰολίην νῆσον. . . .

('[The ships] . . . were carried back by the raging storm to the island of Aeolus.')

4.1231 Πέλοπος δὲ νέον κατεφαίνετο γαῖα·
καὶ τοτ' ἀναρπάγδην ὀλοὴ Βορέαο θύελλα . . .
1234 . . . φέρ'. . . .

(. . . the land of Pelops had just come into view. Then the North Wind came in a deadly gust and swept them off course. . . .)

Od. 10.29 τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' ἤδη ἀνεφαίνετο πατρὶς ἄρουρα. . . .

('On the tenth day our own country began to heave in sight. . . .')

48 τοὺς δ' αἶψ' ἁρπάξασα φέρεν πόντονδε θύελλα
κλαίοντας, γαίης ἄπο πατρίδος·

('. . . in a moment a tempest had seized my crew and was driving them—now all in tears—back to the open sea and away from home.')

6. *The Laestrygonians and Cyzicus*

The Laestrygonians may have originally belonged in the Argo legend.[49] Not only are they similar to the rock-throwing inhabitants of Cyzicus, or more properly of the Bear Mountain on the peninsula which protrudes from the Cyzicene mainland (1.936–43), but they immediately precede the visit to Circe, whose Argonautic connections are much clearer. They do not, however, appear directly in Apollonius; instead, their actions are recalled in events on Cyzicus.[50] Apollonius' debt to *Odyssey* 10 at this point was recognised by the author of the *Orphic Argonautica*, who in his version of the battle between the Argonauts and the Cyzicene monsters also alludes to the Laestrygonian episode.[51]

The relationship between the Earthborn of Cyzicus and the Laestrygonians is closer than that of, for example, the various imitations of

---

[49] Cf. Meuli (1921), 89–91, D. L. Page, *Folktales in Homer's Odyssey* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1973) 38–39. U. Hölscher, *Die Odyssee: Epos zwischen Märchen und Roman* (2nd. ed., Munich: 1989) 171–73, is more sceptical, thinking that the Earthborn of Cyzicus may not have appeared in Argonautic poetry before Apollonius; if this is so, then the similarities to the Laestrygonian episode are all the more important, since they are Apollonius' creation.

[50] Cf. Dufner (1988), 248–50, Clauss (1993), 159–60.

[51] Od. 1.120/[Orph.] A. 516. Cf. H. Venzke, *Die Orphischen Argonautika in ihren Verhältnis zu Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss. Berlin: 1941) 73.

the Cyclops episode to *Odyssey* 9. Though they are not equated by name, Apollonius implies that they live in the same place, using the name of a spring, κρήνη Ἀρτακίη 'the spring Artacie' (1.957, cf. Od. 10. 107–8) as a topographical link between the two episodes.[52] The spring is casually mentioned as the place where the Argonauts leave their mooring stone (1.955–57). The sentence could have ended at the end of 1.956, but Apollonius repeats κρήνῃ ὑπό 'below the spring', reversing the word order,[53] and adding the crucial name. In historical times there was a spring of this name at Cyzicus and a local village Artaki.[54] One of the Doliones killed by the Argonauts is called Artaces (1.1047), though we cannot be certain that the name is not Apollonius' invention.[55]

It is not certain whether rock-throwing giants were located at Cyzicus before Homer[56] or whether the spring was named in the archaic period after the one in Homer[57] or in an early '*Argonautica*';[58] however, Homer appears not to be concerned about whether the Laestrygonians have a specific geographical location. The land of the Laestrygonians, like the Wandering Rocks, combines references to several different geographical phenomena; the double length of the days (Od. 10.84–86) could be a traveller's tale of the northern midnight sun, and the description of the harbour recalls fjords.[59] The important question, as with the 'Odyssean' episodes in Book 4, is not so much whether the *Odyssey* borrowed an episode from the Argo story, but whether Apollonius would have believed that it did. The similarities in the Laestrygonians' behaviour to the Earthborn of

[52] The spring is also mentioned by Alcaeus and Callimachus: Σ ad 1.955–60 (= Alc. fr. 440 L-P, Call fr. 109).

[53] This resembles Homeric epanalepsis (e.g. Il. 20.371–72, Il. 22.127–28, Il. 23.641–42), though it reverses the word order.

[54] Cf. Hasluck (1910), 16–21.

[55] Cf. pp. 89–90.

[56] Eustathius (p. 371 on Od. 10.108) thought that Homer took the name Ἀρτακίη from the Cyzicene spring. Cf. Meuli (1921), 54, 89–90, and A. Kirchhoff, *Die Homerische Odyssee* (Berlin: 1879) 289, *RE* Supp. V, s.v. 'Laistrygonen', 539, E. Schwartz, *Die Odyssee* (Munich: 1924) 264, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Die griechische Heldensage I," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaft* (Berlin: 1925), 58, Vian I, 29–30, Hölscher (1989), 171–73.

[57] Cf. R. Hennig, *Die Geographie des Homerischen Epos* (Leipzig: 1934) 84–85, Dufner (1988), 303, cautiously.

[58] Cf. A. Heubeck, *A commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, v. 2 (Oxford: 1989) on Od. 10.108.

[59] The short nights are suggested by Σ^{HQ} ad Od. 10.86, cf. Lesky (1948), 57, Page (1973), 42–47; Hennig (1934), 79–83, disagrees. For the fjord theory, cf. Stanford (1947) on Od. 10.82ff.

Cyzicus, who had already been described in connexion with Heracles by Herodorus,[60] as well as the name of the spring, would have made the identification quite plausible. Apollonius followed Herodorus in locating the rock-throwing giants at Cyzicus.

However, it is not possible to make a complete identification of the Earthborn and the Laestrygonians. The Earthborn are monstrous, like the Laestrygonians, but in a different way; they have extra arms (1.945–46), but are not apparently giant-size (contrast Od. 10.120). Nor do they appear to have the social organisation which the Laestrygonians are reported to possess (Od. 10.103–11). To identify the Earthborn with the Laestrygonians would also be inconsistent with Homer, since they are apparently completely exterminated (1.1001–2), and none would remain to harm Odysseus' fleet a generation later. The geography also does not fit easily, as the Laestrygonians were traditionally located in Sicily, despite their links with Asia Minor.[61] In *Odyssey* 10 Odysseus encounters them after his second visit to Aeolus and before arriving at Circe's island, which is implied to be near by. In Apollonius, the rock-throwers of Cyzicus are three books away from his Circe, but an indirect connexion with Aeolus is retained, since in the structure of the episode of the Doliones he recalls Odysseus' double meeting with Aeolus.[62]

The appearance of the spring at 1.957 encourages the reader to think that the episode will continue in the same way as Odysseus' encounter with the Laestrygonians, but events take a different course when the Argonauts meet the local king, Cyzicus. Cyzicus, like Antiphates, the Laestrygonian king, is married[63] but in other respects their treatment of visitors could not be more different, as he generously welcomes the Argonauts. The appearance of the Earthborn (who have already been described at 1.942–46) is postponed till some forty lines later.

Both the Laestrygonians' land and Cyzicus offer good anchorage (1.939–40, Od. 10.92–94), though Cyzicus apparently has several harbours, not just one,[64] and the Argo is moved (1.986–87) before the Earthborn attack using the same tactics as the Laestrygonians (1.989–99, Od. 10.97, Od. 10.117–21) (pp. 151–52). There are no striking

---

60 Herodorus, 31 F 7.

61 Hes. fr. 150.26, Th. 6.2.1, Lyc. 956–57, Str. 1.2.9, Σ^{HV} ad Od. 10.86.

62 Cf. pp. 144–45.

63 1.974–76, Od. 10.112–13.

64 On the many harbours in Cyzicus, cf. Fitch (1912), 43–48.

verbal resemblances between these passages; the similarities lie principally in two actions, the ascent by the visitors and the rock-throwing by the inhabitants. The Laestrygonians throw rocks directly at men and ships, whereas the Earthborn first enclose the harbour; in Homer the harbour already has a narrow entrance (Od. 10.90).

In both cases the action of the rock-throwers is likened to hunting prey from the sea (1.991, Od. 10.124). In Homer the slaughter of the nine crews resembles the harpooning of fish; in Apollonius there is only one πόντιον . . . θῆρα 'sea-monster', representing the Argo.[65] The outcome anticipated in this simile and in its Homeric precedent is now thwarted; instead of being hunters, the Earthborn themselves become prey for fish (1.1011). There is an echo of Od. 10.92–93 at 1006–7, consisting mostly of similarities in the endings and beginnings of words:

1.1006 ὣς οἱ ἐνὶ ξυνοχῇ λιμένος πολιοῖο τέταντο
ἑξείης,
(. . . so the giants were stretched out in a line at the narrow point of the foam-white harbour.)
Od. 10.92 αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἔντοσθεν λιμένος κοίλοιο δέδεντο
πλησίαι·
('. . . mooring [the ships] near each other inside the enclosing harbour.')

After this success, the Argonauts sail away:

1.1013 δὴ τότε πείσματα νηὸς ἐπὶ πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο
λυσάμενοι προτέρωσε διὲξ ἁλὸς οἶδμα νέοντο.
(. . . they untied the ship and journeyed further across the sea's swell.)
Od. 10.127 τῷ ἀπὸ πείσματ' ἔκοψα νεὸς κυανοπρῴροιο. . . .
('I . . . severed the hawsers of my ship')
133 ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω πλέομεν. . . .
('Thence we sailed on. . . .')

Odysseus' men have mixed feelings of relief and sorrow about what has happened; nothing is said about the emotions of the Argonauts at this point. They are presumably happy, but like Odysseus and his crew, they will soon feel ἄχος 'grief' (1.1054, Od. 10.133) at the deaths of those dear to them, as they accidentally kill their former hosts;[66] like the encounter with the Laestrygonians, the visit to Cyzicus

[65] Clauss (1993), 160 notes the similarity.

[66] The sudden departure of Odysseus is also echoed at 4.207–8 (Jason cuts the mooring rope after defeating the other batch of Earthborn). Cf. W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (Berkeley: 1987) 111–12, though he is wrong to say that Jason is not in fear of death at this point.

causes tragic loss of life, though not in the same way as in Homer. The outcomes of the two episodes differ completely; Odysseus loses all his fleet except his own ship, which he has prudently moored outside the harbour, whereas with Heracles' help the Argonauts kill the Earthborn without sustaining loss themselves, foreshadowing Jason's later triumph over the Earthborn in Colchis. It has been suggested that Homer adapted the Laestrygonian episode from a version in the Argo legend where the Argonauts were successful as in Apollonius, changing the outcome so that Odysseus resembled Jason in having only one ship, in preparation for the other 'Argonautic' adventures (Circe, the Sirens, and the rest) which follow in the *Odyssey*.[67] In Apollonius' version, there is no similarity in the course of the action except in the attack by rock-throwing giants, as if to emphasise the differences between Jason and Odysseus.

While the allusions to *Odyssey* 10 are clear, Apollonius does not introduce the Laestrygonians into his poem in the way that he includes Circe and the other 'Odyssean' dangers in Book 4. Not only does he never use the name (the only proper name shared between the episodes is Artacie) but he separates his Earthborn geographically from the Laestrygonians' traditional location in Sicily and from that of his own Circe, and makes them physically different from Homer's monsters. Nevertheless, the spring Artacie is the first place-name from Odysseus' wanderings to be used in the *Argonautica*, and is a paradigm for Apollonius' treatment of Odysseus' wanderings later on in the 'Odyssean' part of Book 4. A Homeric place with no definite location is placed on the map, and the events which occur there allude to Odysseus' adventures both in content and in verbal detail, without being a close repetition of them.

1.989 Γηγενέες δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἀπ' οὔρεος ἀΐξαντες
φράξαν ἀπειρεσίῃσι Χυτοῦ στόμα νειόθι πέτρης. . . .
994 τοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
πέτρας ἀμφιρρῶγας ἀερτάζοντες ἔβαλλον. . . .
999 πρίν περ ἀνελθέμεναι σκοπιήν. . . .

(From the other side of the mountain the Earthborn rushed down and tried to block off the mouth of the 'Closed Harbour' by throwing countless rocks to the bottom. . . . as they hurled the large boulders which they had broken off. . . . [the others returned] before reaching the look-out point. . . .)

Od. 10.97 . . . σκοπιὴν ἐς παιπαλόεσσαν ἀνελθών.

('. . . going up and standing on a commanding crag.')

---

[67] Meuli (1921), 91.

117 τὼ δὲ δύ' ἀΐξαντε φυγῇ ἐπὶ νῆας ἱκέσθην....
121 οἵ ῥ' ἀπὸ πετράων ἀνδραχθέσι χερμαδίοισι βάλλον·

('... but the other two rushed away and ran till they reached the ships. [The Laestrygonians] from the cliffs began to hurl down great rocks that were each of them one man's burden.')

7. *The 'Odyssean' Adventures of Book 4*

The Argonauts' meeting with Circe at the heart of Book 4 is the first of a succession of episodes in which places and characters from Odysseus' wanderings in *Odyssey* 10 and 12 are introduced directly. These episodes are a special case of allusion to the *Odyssey* and need to be considered together, both in their relationship to the rest of the *Argonautica* and in regard to ancient scholarship on Homer. At least some of the places described appeared in accounts of the Argo's voyage before Apollonius; there is good reason to think that some originally belonged in the Argo legend rather than in Odysseus', not least because of explicit links made in the *Odyssey* between these adventures and the Argo or Aeetes (Od. 10.137–39, Od. 12.59–72). It has been convincingly argued in modern times that the adventures of Odysseus from Circe to Thrinacia (with the exception of the visit to Hades) were transferred to Odysseus from the Argonauts, though this has been doubted.[68] In one case, there is Homer's own authority for the Argonauts' route (the Wandering Rocks at Od. 12.69–72).

The importance of the literary history of the events of *Odyssey* 10 and 12 lies not so much in whether these adventures were originally told of the Argonauts before they were attached to Odysseus, as in whether they appeared to Apollonius to have been transferred in this way. While the Argonautic credentials of some of the episodes

---

[68] Cf. Kirchhoff (1879), 287–90, P. Friedländer, "Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Heldensage", *Rheinisches Museum* 69 (1914) 301–3, Meuli (1921), 85–115, Delage, *Géographie*, 52, L. Moulinier, *Quelques hypothèses relatives à la géographie d'Homère dans l'Odyssée* (Aix-en-Provence: 1958) 80, R. Merkelbach, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee* (2nd. ed., Munich: 1969), 201–7, G. Crane, *Calypso: Backgrounds and Conventions of the Odyssey* (Frankfurt: 1988), 152–56 (though Merkelbach believes that Scylla and Charybdis are not Argonautic and Thrinacia appeared in a different form), more cautiously Schwartz (1924), 262–63, Germain (1954), 488–91, 644–46. S. P. Kyriakides, "Παρατηρήσεις εἰς τὴν 'Ομηρικὴν Νέκυιαν," 'Αριστοτ. Πανεπ. Θεσσαλ. 'Επιστ. 'Επετ. 11 (1957), 306–20, Dufner (1988), 7–55 and Hölscher (1989), ch. 13 are even more sceptical.

(such as the Sirens and the Cattle of the Sun) are not found in the *Odyssey*, they were associated with the Argonauts by virtue of their proximity to Circe and the Wandering Rocks, both in the text of the *Odyssey* itself and in the geographical locations which were later ascribed to them.

However, the evidence for these adventures of the Argonauts before Apollonius is fragmentary, and is complicated by the notoriously varied traditions concerning the Argo's return route from Colchis. If this route coincides with Odysseus' in a post-Homeric account, this is not proof that the Argonauts were the first to travel that way, since literary accounts may be extrapolated from the *Odyssey*; but it might have been enough to convince Apollonius that Odysseus' voyage was based on that of the Argonauts.

There is also independent evidence that the geography of the *Odyssey* and its relationship to the Argo legend was a matter of concern to Apollonius' contemporaries. It is possible to distinguish two lines of approach to the subject. The first is an attempt to attach the adventures of the Argonauts and of Odysseus to known places; this goes back at least to Hesiod, who sited some of Odysseus' wanderings in the western Mediterranean,[69] although this particular form of the controversy cannot be traced securely before Eratosthenes. A similar debate exists among modern scholars about how far Homer's indications of geography should be pressed.[70] An alternative line of enquiry is whether one of the voyages has influenced the other. To some extent these approaches are in conflict with one another, since the first historicises myth, while the second acknowledges its fictional nature.

Timaeus of Tauromenium, writing around Apollonius' time or shortly before,[71] tried to attach both voyages to places he described in his geography of the western part of the Greek world. He had the Argonauts return by a western route through the pillars of Hercules

---

[69] Cf. E. D. Phillips, "Odysseus in Italy," *JHS* 73 (1953), 55–56.

[70] Cf. H.-H. and A. Wolf, *Der Weg des Odysseus: Tunis-Malta-Italien in den Augen Homers* (Tübingen: 1968) [& lit.], J. Bollack, "Ulysse chez les philologues," *Actes de la recherche des sciences sociales* 1 (1975), 9–35. This approach is renounced to various extents by Lesky (1948), 51–68, H. Eisenberger, *Studien zur Odyssee* (Wiesbaden: 1973) 201–2, A. Klotz, "Die Irrfahrten des Odysseus und ihre Deutung im Altertum," *Gymnasium* 59 (1982), 301, P. Vidal-Naquet, "Land and Sacrifice in the Odyssey: A Study of Religious and Mythical Meanings," in *The Black Hunter* (Baltimore: 1986) 19, and A. Heubeck, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* v. 2 (Oxford: 1989) 4–5.

[71] On the possible date of this famously long-lived historian, cf. L. Pearson, *The Greek Historians of the West: Timaeus and His Predecessors* (Atlanta: 1987) 37.

and down the western coast of Italy,[72] and visit Corcyra[73] (though it is not known whether he put the Phaeacians there) and possibly Circe;[74] he also located the Wandering Rocks in the straits of Messina,[75] and discussed the names Thrinacie and Drepane.[76]

The most extended piece of evidence is the first, introductory, book of Strabo's *Geography*, which contains a lengthy discussion of Homeric geography reflecting the debates of Hellenistic scholars. Some, such as Zeno, Crates and Posidonius, believed that the wanderings of Odysseus could be located on a map, whereas others, such as Eratosthenes and Aristarchus, maintained that the regions described had no existence outside Homer's imagination (cf. especially Strabo 1.2.11–19).[77]

Strabo himself is aware of the similarities between the two voyages and combines the two approaches described above by regarding the *Odyssey* itself as evidence for the route taken by the Argo. At 1.2.10 he suggests that Jason may have gone to Italy, and that Homer could have modelled Odysseus' adventures on Jason's. At 1.2.38–40 he reviews the historical evidence for the Argo's route, which consists mostly of temples and other relics (such as those described in the *aitia* in Apollonius) and references to the legend in Homer, and concludes that Circe and Aeaea are Homer's inventions, based on Medea and Aea respectively.[78] Like modern scholars, Strabo's sources may not have agreed on exactly which Argonautic incidents were transferred to Odysseus. He gives no authority for his derivation of Odysseus' story from Jason's, but it probably goes back to Hellenistic scholarship. He does not cite Apollonius, even though his description of the return route at 1.2.10 corresponds to Apollonius'; instead he quotes Argonautic material from Callimachus' *Aetia* (1.2.39).

Strabo distinguishes the fictional nature of Odysseus' travels, which

---

[72] 566 F 85 = D.S. 4.56.3–6, discussed by W. Schmid-O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* (Munich: 1920) v. 2, 143 n. 1, cf. T. S. Brown, *Timaeus of Tauromenium* (Berkeley: 1958) 31–32, Delage, *Géographie*, 65, Pearson (1987), 62–70.

[73] 566 F 87 (= Σ ad 4.1153–54), 566 F 88 (= Σ ad 4.1717–19b), cf. Pearson (1987), 105–6.

[74] Cf. Pearson (1987), 64.

[75] 566 F 86 = Σ ad. 4.786–87, cf. Pearson (1987), 63–64.

[76] Cf. Pearson (1987), 57, 106 (frs. 566 F 37, 566 F 79).

[77] On this dispute, cf. J. S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton: 1992) 183–90; Romm discusses Strabo's own synthesis of the various points of view on pp. 190–94.

[78] Cf. Str. 2.40, and more recently R. Dion, "Où situer la demeure de Circé?" *Bull. de l'assoc. G. Budé* 4 ser. no. 1 (1971), 500, though Dufner (1988), 467 n. 23 derives this from Apollonius.

he regards as Homer's invention,[79] from the historical basis for those of the Argonauts, which, like Apollonius (and presumably using directly or indirectly the same sources), he finds in monuments. This contrast recalls one of the most marked differences between the *Argonautica* and the *Odyssey*, the presence of *aitia* to connect the events in the Argonauts' voyage to physical relics or customs of the poet's own day. Apollonius may thus reflect in his narrative style contemporary speculation on the relative historicity of the voyages of Jason and Odysseus.[80] Though he uses *aitia* like a historian, to locate most of the voyage in 'real space', this device is abandoned for the section from Circe to the Cattle of the Sun, in favour of a more 'Odyssean' approach without *aitia*, though there were places where they could have been introduced.[81] In the sequence of scenes which most closely resembles the *Odyssey*, Apollonius imitates Odyssean narrative style,[82] and the suppression of *aitia* here argues against the once popular view that Apollonius uses them indiscriminately.[83] The contrast in style is all the more obvious because the sections which immediately precede (4.651–53, 4.655–57 (cf. Str. 5.2.6), 4.657–58) and follow (4.1153–55, 4.1210–16, 4.1217–19) are full of *aitia* and references to future events. The section where *aitia* appear again, the stay among the Phaeacians, is of course still 'Odyssean', and their re-introduction here is one of the ways in which it is transitional.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the episodes fail to relate to the known world. In Homer the scanty information about wind direction and journey lengths and the statement that Circe lives in the East (Od. 12.3–4) do not allow the reader to relate Odysseus' wandering coherently to geographical reality.[84] In Apollonius such a route is possible, but within the section there is no attempt between 4.856 (Circe's home) and 4.982 (Drepane) to identify the places mentioned with contemporary ones,[85] which Apollonius could easily have done

---

[79] Cf. especially Str. 1.2.8–9.

[80] Apollonius keeps a middle course in this dispute; cf. Dufner (1988), 278–84.

[81] Cf. Vian III, 38, and p. 269 n. 4. M. V. Sánchez, *El aition en las Argonáuticas de Apolonio de Rodas: estudio literario* (Murcia: 1989) 250–51, while relating the absence of aitia to the 'fantastic' nature of the episodes, is thus mistaken to attribute it to the absence of traditions which might have supplied them.

[82] On this contrast of Homeric and Apollonian style, cf. Fusillo (1985), 136–39.

[83] Cf., for example, Gillies (1928), xxxviii–xxxix (implying that Apollonius uses *aitia* involuntarily!), Mackail (1910), 196, Wordsworth (1929), 195–96.

[84] Cf. Lesky (1948), 65–67.

[85] Except by calling Scylla Αὐσονίη 'Ausonian' (4.828), (contrast the Sicilian place-names in Ovid, Met. 13–14). Cf. Dufner (1988), 279–80.

with an aetiological note. The effect is vagueness, though knowledge of contemporary theories about the wanderings of Odysseus would enable the reader to place the Sirens, the Wandering Rocks, Scylla, Charybdis and Thrinacia in Campania, the Straits of Messina and Sicily respectively,[86] locations which were among those suggested by those Hellenistic scholars who wished to make Homer's imprecise and inconsistent geography correspond to the known Mediterranean world.[87] Geographical vagueness is one way in which Odysseus' more fantastic adventures are distinguished from his travels in the Greek world; the lack of references to 'modern' places is Apollonius' equivalent of this Homeric imprecision. It allows him to incorporate the theories of his contemporaries without turning the poem into a simple versification of their ideas; realistic geography is there for those who look for it, but is not commented on.

In a rather similar way, the priority of the *Odyssey* is suggested indirectly, rather than by breaking the illusion of epic time. Since the events of the *Odyssey* happen in mythological time after the *Argonautica*, there is no explicit reference to Odysseus' voyage similar to the Odyssean references to the Argonauts, and Apollonius does not repay Homer's compliments to the Argo legend;[88] these are replaced by metaliterary words or phrases with one meaning in the timescale of the poem and another in 'literary' time.[89]

It is unlikely that Apollonius had access to a pre-Odyssean Argonautic epic in which the Argonauts took the same route as Odysseus, though he may have known post-Homeric accounts in which they did this. However, the *Argonautica*'s relationship to Homer is so central to its poetics that the *Odyssey* overshadows all other possible models. We can still think of Apollonius 'borrowing' these episodes from the *Odyssey*, regardless of where they originally belonged, in view of the extensive use of Odyssean language and narrative details in them and the use of the *Odyssey* as a model elsewhere in the poem. Apollonius can draw on Homer in this section more obviously than

---

[86] Cf. Phillips (1953), Delage (1930), 240–47; on Apollonius' 'calquing' of Homer's geography, cf. Sanchez (1983), 143.

[87] The evidence is mostly in Strabo 1, scholia (e.g. on 4.661, Od. 10.1), and poets such as Virgil and Ovid. It does not follow that Apollonius finds fault with Homer's supposed inaccuracy.

[88] Cf. Crane (1988), 159 n. 26.

[89] E.g. πάρος 'before' (4.667), κλυτός 'renowned' (4.661, 4.778), ὡς τὸ πάροιθεν 'as before' (4.1068); cf. pp. 195–96, 251.

anywhere else, without deviating from tradition concerning the Argonauts. Moreover, there were alternative routes available which he rejects, and his free choice of the 'Odyssean' option makes overt the implicit debt to the *Odyssey* which has been in evidence throughout the poem.[90] The route now becomes a journey through another text as well as through a landscape.

The section is introduced by a full-scale invocation of the Muses (4.552–56)—the only one in the middle of a book—which follows a 'digression' mentioning the Phaeacians (4.539, 4.549) and precedes the announcement to the reader of Zeus' intention that the Argonauts should visit Circe (4.559–61). The invocation is a signpost indicating a new direction within the return journey, framed by references to the material it introduces,[91] although the place-names in it (Ausonia and the Ligurian islands) are not Odyssean. It also speaks of physical memorials of the voyage (4.554–55), which are described at 4.651–52 and 4.656–58. These are the last *aitia* before Drepane; Apollonius draws attention to his use of this device in a programmatic passage, just before he abandons it.

For the Argonauts themselves, the change in route is confirmed by the Argo speaking (4.580–91), conveying the will of Zeus which has been declared to the reader at 4.559–61, that they must go to Circe for purification. Like the invocation to the Muses, this has a programmatic function. This declaration looks a stage further than the invocation, to the visit to Circe which is the first of the Argonauts' 'Odyssean' adventures. The poet's question asked in the invocation, which is limited to contemporary geography, receives an answer which directs the Argonauts, the poet and the readers into the heart of Odysseus' wanderings.[92]

Nevertheless, the adventures based on Odysseus' do not begin immediately, but are deferred for some seventy lines. Before the Argonauts reach Circe, they take a wrong turning which nearly sends them on a one-way voyage into Ocean (4.637–39).[93] For the second time in quick succession, their route is determined by a fear-inspiring voice, this time that of Hera (4.640–44), and they regain their *nostos* (4.643–44).

---

[90] For the various return routes of the Argo, cf. Bacon (1925), ch. 9, Vian III, 16–20.

[91] Körte (1929), 229–30, thinks that the invocation is an attempt to disguise an awkward route; on its introduction of Odyssean material, cf. Dufner (1988), 162–69.

[92] Cf. Clare (1993), 147.

[93] On Apollonius' rejection of a route via Ocean, cf. Romm (1992), 195–96.

After a brief visit to the Stoichades, the Odyssean locations follow in order. The sequence closes with the visit to the Phaeacians; as in the *Odyssey* this episode is a transition. Although it does not mark a return to normality in the *Argonautica*, it opens another phase of the voyage by reintroducing precise geography and finally breaking Medea's links with Colchis. Like the Odyssean scene, it is analogous to, and is in the *Argonautica* a substitute for, the eventual return to Greece of the poem's heroes.

The very fame of the material raises the problem of retaining the reader's interest, because the adventures risk becoming pale copies of their models. This danger is especially great as Apollonius denies himself one of the greatest aids to vividness in the *Odyssey*: the voice of a character within the poem giving his own perception of and reaction to events when he recounts them to others, as Odysseus tells the Phaeacians of his travels in *Odyssey* 9–12.[94] There is no personal involvement of the narrator with the events described; this comparative coolness of Apollonius' account leads the reader to approach it differently from Homer's and to look for correspondences to Homer rather than simply narrative excitement.

The only difference between the Argonauts' route and Odysseus' was already attested in Homer (Od. 12.69–72). Other episodes proceed differently from their Odyssean predecessors; for example Circe turns hostile towards her visitors, and they adopt a different tactic for combating the Sirens. In some cases the Argonauts choose one of a pair of alternatives which is presented in the *Odyssey*, but not the one which Odysseus follows, as when they pass the Wandering Rocks rather than Scylla and Charybdis, and when they sail past the Cattle of the Sun without stopping.

In general, the descriptions of places from the *Odyssey* are consistent with Homer's, though Circe no longer lives on an island. However, numerous pieces of 'background' information are given which are not found in Homer, such as the ancestry, former history, and appearance of the Sirens (4.895–99), the name Drepane and its etymology (4.984–91)[95] and the story of Macris (4.1131–40).[96] In the

---

[94] E.g. Od. 12.258–59, Od. 12.366–73. Cf. also the Argonauts' lack of reaction to the Wandering Rocks contrasted with Odysseus' attempt to resist Scylla.

[95] Cf. E. V. George, "Apollonius' *Argonautica* 4.984–5: Apology for a Shameful Tale," *Rivista di Studi Classici* 25 (1977), 360–64; on Apollonius' statement of his own approach to tradition here, cf. Grillo (1988), 20–22.

[96] A. R. Dyck, "On the Way from Colchis to Corinth: Medea in Book 4 of the *Argonautica*," *Hermes* 117 (1989), 462 n. 34, sees this as 'pedantic'.

juxtaposition of Thrinacia and Scheria Apollonius adds geographical proximity to Homer's narrative closeness.

The Argonauts have a surprising immunity from danger; Circe does them no harm, the effect of the Sirens is neutralised by Orpheus, the passage through the Wandering Rocks is easier than that through the Symplegades, they pass calmly by the cattle of the Sun and the Phaeacians are no longer xenophobic. As in the battles in Books 1 and 2, no Argonauts are killed, though Boutes is lost to Aphrodite; Odysseus (having lost seventy-two men fighting the Cicones and all but one ship to the Laestrygonians) loses men on Circe's island and to Scylla, and the rest in the shipwreck after leaving Helios' island.[97] The Argonauts as a group are less active than Odysseus' men, who remind their leader to leave Circe's island and decide on their own initiative to sacrifice Helios' cattle; Medea appeals to them on Drepane (4.1030–57) but her safety is owed to Arete. The Argonauts, unlike Odysseus, do not appear to learn anything from their experiences.

Part of the reason why the Argonauts survive their adventures unscathed is the activity of Hera on their behalf. Odysseus has to rely on his own resources, apparently without Athena's help, though unlike the Argonauts he is given detailed instructions (by Circe and Teiresias) about the dangers ahead.[98] The Argonauts, however, have divine help, with Hera mustering Thetis and the Nereids, Hephaestus and Aeolus to get Argo past the Wandering Rocks and later inspiring Arete to speak to Alcinous. This reverses the usual scarcity of divine intervention in Apollonius as compared with Homer; it is another way of making the episodes 'Homeric' without merely adapting the passages on which they are based. The magical elements of Homer's stories are reduced; Circe's spells are in the past (4.667), the Sirens' song can be drowned out by mortal efforts, the Rocks are fixed, and there is nothing supernatural about the Phaeacians or their land. Despite the return voyage being more 'fantastic' than the outward one in its geography, Apollonius brings these mythical places closer to the Greek world which the Argonauts will soon re-enter. Paradoxically, this too makes this part of the *Argonautica* more Homeric, replacing the magic which is so rare in Homer outside Odysseus' wanderings with 'traditional' divine intervention. In this respect,

---

[97] The only loss is in the one place Odysseus suffers no loss, the Sirens (Dufner (1988), 88).

[98] The equivalent of Circe's speech is given to Phineus. A partial equivalent to Circe's speech is Hera's speech to Thetis (4.783–832), esp. 4.823–32.

Apollonius writes the episodes as they might have appeared in the *Odyssey* had it followed the conventions of the *Iliad.*

The connexions of several places with Medea are surprisingly played down. Medea does not tell the Argonauts that Circe is related to her. Scylla's mother Crataeis is Hecate, the goddess Medea serves (4.829), and the cattle of the Sun belong to Medea's grandfather, but again nothing is made of either of these facts, and the sons of Phrixus also keep quiet. In this respect, Apollonius does not adapt the episodes to the different setting, but puts the Argonauts in Odysseus' position.

In some cases Apollonius states in different words information given in Homer; the Sirens' song (4.892–94), the danger of the Wandering Rocks (4.823–24, 4.924–29, 4.945–47: more precisely and vividly described, however, than in Homer), Scylla and Charybdis (4.825–31, 4.922–23), the names of Helios' daughters (4.970–74) and the relationship of Alcinous and Arete (4.1012–13). However, information about the danger from the cattle of the Sun is omitted; after the references to the dangers of the previous episodes this is surprising, and confirms that although Apollonius remains consistent with the *Odyssey*, he feels free to pass elliptically over important matters. As usual, Apollonius makes the narrative intelligible without requiring the reader to supply details; but this does not mean that the Homeric background is unimportant.

The episodes are thus rooted in the *Odyssey* in their material and its treatment. However, they all take different directions from Homer and become Apollonian both in style and in their relationship to the rest of the epic.[99]

8. *Circe*

The Circe episode is a paradigm of how the same Homeric incident may influence several scenes in the *Argonautica*, creating unifying links across them. As in other instances of this technique, different elements of Homer's episode are used in different books, fragmenting the model. The seduction of the visitor by the ruler of the island is used in the Lemnos episode in Book 1, the long speech giving

[99] For example in Orpheus' rôle with the Sirens, and Medea's final break with Colchis in Drepane.

directions is given to Phineus in Book 2, the magic plant, the instructions for the chthonic ritual and the ritual itself occur in Book 3, and Circe herself appears in Book 4 with her mysterious animals and attendant nymphs. This by no means exhausts the use of echoes of phraseology and narrative detail from this part of the *Odyssey*. Both the Lemnos episode and Book 3 also make use of the visit to Hades which separates the two parts of the Odyssean episode.

The Circe episode exhibits a structure which is found in other Odyssean episodes and in numerous episodes in the *Argonautica*, namely the pattern of arrival at a strange land, followed by a confrontation with its inhabitants. Some of the other episodes in the *Odyssey* which use this pattern, such as Odysseus' encounters with the Cyclops and with the Phaeacians, are also used as models more than once in the *Argonautica*. However, Homer's Circe episode offers links to the subject of Apollonius' epic which may be exploited directly, since Circe is one of the few characters which the *Argonautica* shares with Homer and is the aunt of Medea, one of the central characters of the poem, as well as being Aeetes' sister and a native of Colchis.

It is very likely that Circe herself originally belonged in the Argo legend rather than that of Odysseus.[100] It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Circe is mentioned and *Odyssey* 10–12 is alluded to in the events at Colchis. However, previous literary and mythological tradition will not account for the presence of allusions to Homer's Circe episode in Books 1 and 2, or for the extent of them in Book 3; the use of the episode in these books unifies the poem and prepares for Circe's own appearance in Book 4. This preparation is achieved gradually; she is not mentioned in Book 1, only the plain named after her is referred to in Book 2 (2.400), she is named in Book 3 (3.311) and finally appears in person in Book 4.[101]

As well as making isolated points in particular passages, the allusions to Homer's Circe episode are used to characterise, particularly in the cases of Medea and Aeetes; we are also invited to compare Jason with Odysseus and the Argonauts with Odysseus' companions. Such comparison may show which aspects of a character are most prominent at a particular point or may emphasise differences in attitude or behaviour. Homer's Circe is elusive by nature, resisting attempts

---

[100] Cf. below, pp. 184–85.

[101] The *Aeneid* is similar in recalling the instructions both of Circe and of Teiresias (Knauer (1964), 203–4). Circe herself appears briefly at Aen. 7.10–20.

to characterise her;[102] this very slipperiness means that she can be recalled in people who otherwise differ greatly from one another.

The episodes which are linked by their resemblance to Homer's Circe episode are also part of patterns on a larger scale. The shared similarities to Homer's episode reinforce other relationships between some of these scenes.[103] More generally, they are part of the larger network of echoes of Odysseus' wanderings, in which allusions to other parts of the *Odyssey* may overlap with those to Circe, especially in Book 3.

a) *Lemnos*

The Lemnos episode might superficially not appear to have much in common with Homer's Circe episode, but it contains important parallels in its narrative and phraseology. Firstly, the episodes share a basic plot structure. In both, a group of sailors arrives on an island with no male inhabitants. Before the leader of the party meets the ruler of the island, we learn how the woman or women there have harmed men (1.609–19, Od. 10.237–41). The woman in charge of the island at first feels hostile to the newcomers, but subsequently offers abundant hospitality and sleeps with their leader. His companions also enjoy her hospitality, although one of them is reluctant to approach her house. After they have spent some time there, some of the crew suggest that they should delay no longer and they depart. In both cases there is some coming and going between the ship and the inhabited part of the island and an interview between the island's mistress and their leader before the sailors decide to stay.

The main differences between the two episodes are that there are many Lemnians and they do not have Circe's ability to work magic. However, both have a sinister aspect, as the Lemnians murder all their menfolk and intend to fight the Argonauts, and Circe thinks nothing of turning Odysseus' men into animals and attempting to do the same to their leader. The Lemnians' hostility has no direct consequences, since they do no harm to their visitors; it takes the form of running down to the beach in armour (1.634–38), but is aban-

[102] C. Segal, "Circaean Temptations: Homer, Virgil, Ovid," *TAPA* 99 (1968), 419–28 attempts to describe the Homeric Circe, but nevertheless admits (p. 420) that she is 'enigmatic and darkly potent'. Cf. also Beye (1982), 152.

[103] As in the similarities between Lemnos and Book 3; cf. G. Paduano, *Studi su Apollonio Rodio* (Rome: 1972) 143–45.

doned on Polyxo's advice. This is milder than events in the lost tragedies on this subject, where battle was actually joined or an oath was extracted from the Argonauts before they could land;[104] in the *Argonautica* the Lemnian women never threaten the Argonauts.

The correspondences in situation between the two episodes are interspersed with verbal parallels, from the beginning of the account of previous events on Lemnos:

1.611 δὴ γὰρ κουριδίας μὲν ἀπηνήναντο γυναῖκας
(Spurning their lawful wives. . . .)
Od. 10.297 ἔνθα σὺ μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' ἀπανήνασθαι θεοῦ εὐνήν. . . .
('At this you must not then spurn the bed of the goddess. . . .')

The verb ἀπαναίνομαι 'spurn' is often found in a sexual context, of a man refusing a woman's advances.[105]

Another series of verbal echoes establishes the correspondence of Hypsipyle and Circe, Jason and Odysseus, beginning with 1.653–54 (cf. Od. 10.549) and 1.788–89 (cf. Od. 10.233, Od. 10.314) (pp. 196–97). This is intensified as Hypsipyle, like Circe, welcomes the leader of the visiting party after already having met some of the others (Aethalides, Eurylochus' party). The interview between Jason and Hypsipyle also looks ahead to Apollonius' own Circe episode, since in both episodes a woman (Hypsipyle/Medea) is trying to dissemble about a murder.[106] ἐμφύλιος 'kindred' is common to the two episodes and does not occur elsewhere in Apollonius.[107] The prominence of furniture

[104] Actual fighting occurred in Sophocles (*TrGF*, 337); the oath in Aeschylus (*TrGF*, 352), both cited by Σ ad 1.769–73, cf. Jackson (1993), 60–62. On the 'frustrated warfare' in this scene, cf. pp. 115–17.

[105] E.g. Pi. N.5.33. It occurs in Homer only here and at Il. 7.185. Its use in sexual contexts was noted by Harpocration (p. 31.7–8 Bekker).

[106] Cf. Margolies (1981), 49–50; unlike Medea's, Hypsipyle's deception succeeds. There is an echo of another woman who detained Odysseus:

1.791 (Hypsipyle) . . . ἔμπα δὲ τόν γε
αἰδομένη μύθοισι προσέννεπεν αἱμυλίοισι·
(Nevertheless, despite her coy reserve, she addressed him with winning words. . . .)
Od. 1.56 (of Calypso) αἰεὶ δὲ μαλακοῖσι καὶ αἱμυλίοισι λόγοισι
θέλγει. . . .
('[she] seeks continually with her soft and coaxing words to beguile him. . . .')

αἱμύλιος 'coaxing' is *hapax legomenon* in Homer. Eustathius ad loc. comments that these are the sorts of words a woman in love would use. Hypsipyle bears a close similarity to Calypso in one respect, that she wishes to detain Jason when he would rather leave. On the similarities to Circe, Calypso and Nausicaa in this scene, cf. Clauss (1993), 130–35.

[107] 1.865, 4.725. Apollonius uses this form, preferred by the tragedians, not Homeric ἔμφυλος, possibly hinting at the use of the Lemnos story in tragedy.

(1.788–89, Od. 10.233, Od. 10.314–15) illustrates a preoccupation of both scenes (cf. also 1.667–68, Od. 10.347, Od. 10.352–70).

Another echo of Homer's Circe episode occurs in Hysipyle's speech to Jason:

1.802 οὐλομένης δὲ θεᾶς πορσύνετο μῆνις
Κύπριδος, ἥ τέ σφιν θυμοφθόρον ἔμβαλεν ἄτην·

('However, the wrath of Kypris, a deadly goddess, was at work, for she cast mind-destroying folly upon them.')

Od. 10.393 τῶν δ' ἐκ μὲν μελέων τρίχες ἔρρεον, ἃς πρὶν ἔφυσε
φάρμακον οὐλόμενον, τό σφιν πόρε πότνια Κίρκη·

('Their limbs began to shed the bristles that Circe's poison had planted on them.')

Here the shared feature is a relative clause referring to something harmful which a goddess gave to a group of mortal men.[108]

The reader's attention is briefly focused on Aethalides, who conveys the message from the Argonauts to the Lemnian women (1.640–51), and Apollonius himself draws attention to his prominence as he breaks off his digression about Aethalides' future (1.648–49). This digression falls into two parts, each of which recalls a character who appears in the course of Homer's Circe episode. Aethalides is the son of Hermes and has inherited some characteristics of his father (1.641–44); Hermes himself appears at Od. 10.277–308 and acts in a similar capacity to Aethalides, since both convey a message to the Greek leader from or about the woman in charge of the island. The fate of Aethalides' soul after death, in which it retains its memory (1.644–48) resembles the privilege of understanding which Circe says is granted to the shade of Teiresias alone (Od. 10.492–95); ἔμπεδος 'unchanging' occurs in both passages (1.646, Od. 10.493).[109] Although this characteristic of Aethalides is attested elsewhere,[110] he is not otherwise known as an Argonaut. His other action in the poem is to collect the teeth from Aeetes (3.1172–90), immediately before a passage which strongly evokes the summoning of the shade of Teiresias in the *Odyssey*, Jason's night ritual; here too his descent from Hermes

---

[108] If we adopt Fränkel's reading οὐλομένη, the phrase οὐλομένη ... μῆνις 'accursed wrath' recalls Il. 1.1–2. Even with the reading of the MSS, the allusion is still apparent, giving Aphrodite's anger the dignity of Achilles'.

[109] On Aethalides' resemblance to Teiresias and the Dioscuri in *Odyssey* 11, cf. Clauss (1993), 114 n. 12.

[110] Pherecydes 3 F 109 (= Σ ad 1.643–48e). On this innovation cf. Jackson (1993), 66–67.

is mentioned (3.1175). Apollonius exploits Aethalides' resemblance to two characters from Homer's Circe episode in two scenes which are based on that episode.

γαίης τε καὶ ἄστεος . . . ἐπιβαινέμεν 'to disembark into our country and city' (1.706–7, 1.715–16) in Hypsipyle's invitation to Jason recalls Od. 10.334 and Od. 10.347 where the same verb is used with εὐνῆς 'bed' (of Odysseus entering Circe's bed). The reference to the Homeric passage is a reminder that the Lemnian women are hoping not just that the Argonauts will stay but that they will sleep with them, an offer which is readily accepted. The phrase occurs in the message Hypsipyle entrusts to Iphinoe, which she repeats almost word for word (1.705–7, 1.714–16), an exceptional instance of a common Homeric narrative technique.[111]

Both episodes are interrupted by contrasting sections, the *nekuia* or visit to Hades in *Odyssey* 11 and the description of Jason's cloak (1.721–68), and these sections are both wholly or partly of 'catalogue' form.[112] There is also a more specific relationship between them, since two of the pictures on the cloak derive from different parts of *Odyssey* 11.[113] In each case a story which is recalled to Odysseus' mind by the sight of certain people in Hades becomes a scene on the cloak. Firstly, Antiope appears in both poems (1.735–41, Od. 11.260–65) (p. 197). In Homer Antiope is the focus of the description because it is she whom Odysseus sees; the fortifying of Thebes by her sons, the subject of Apollonius' scene, appears in a digression. ἀπύργωτος 'unfortified' (which is attested only in these two passages) and the shared genealogy (1.735, Od. 11.260) strengthen the debt to *Odyssey* 11.

The second myth from *Odyssey* 11 to be retold on the cloak is that of Tityos (1.759–62, Od. 11.576–81) (p. 197). Here again the subject differs formally (Tityos/Apollo), but not the material (the attempted rape of Leto).[114] As with Amphion and Zethus, a scene which Odysseus

[111] Margolies (1981), 47–48 comments on the differences within the repetition, and the effect of 'Homeric leisure and garrulity', connecting it with a contrast between Homeric and Callimachean narrative techniques in the episode. On repetition in Apollonius and its purpose, cf. G. W. Elderkin, "Repetition in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius," *AJP* 34 (1913), 198–201, F. Vian, "Notes critiques au chant II des Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 75 (1973), 98–99.

[112] Stylistically, ἐν δ' ἔσαν 'there were on it' corresponds to the repeated ἴδον/εἶδον 'I saw' of the list of people in Hades.

[113] On the 'literary' nature of the cloak, cf. E. V. George, "Poet and Characters in Apollonius Rhodius' Lemnian Episode," *Hermes* 100 (1972), 49–50.

[114] Cited by Σ ad loc.

recalls when he sees someone in Hades who is closely connected with it is actually depicted on the cloak; Odysseus sees the punishment, whereas Jason's cloak depicts the crime. Apollonius gives a fuller version than Homer of the story of Tityos' birth, mentioning his two mothers, Elara and Earth, and allowing the incident to be interpreted as one of a number of occasions in the poem where earthborn forces are defeated by an Olympian or by someone who resembles one;[115] Apollo does not appear in the Homeric passage. The extra information about Tityos is a 'digression' from the scene on the cloak, just as the details of the story of the assault on Leto are a digression from what Odysseus sees. What were additional details in Homer become the main material, with further information about Tityos' birth added; as in Homer, an artefact or scene in the main narrative leads to the mention of other facts connected with its subject.

The fortifying of Thebes and the attempted rape of Leto are described with more pictorial detail than in Homer, for example in the depiction of Amphion's and Zethus' stones, the youthful Apollo, and Leto's veil. This is not only an instance of Apollonius' love of visual detail, but is also appropriate to a description of an object,[116] whereas the Homeric scenes are recalled to Odysseus' mind when he sees people connected with them.

The cloak's multiple and varied links with the rest of the poem have encouraged a variety of interpretations; the parallels with the *nekuia*, which reinforce those with *Odyssey* 10–12 in the rest of the episode, are only one of many themes which it brings together.[117] The cloak is given subject matter which is shared with Homer, without simply recalling the scenes on Achilles' shield. Both the cloak and the *nekuia* look back to a mythological time preceding that of the main narrative, but also directly or symbolically describe future events. This retrospection illustrates on a small scale what could be said of

---

[115] On the duels between Olympian and chthonic forces in the *Argonautica*, cf. Rose (1984), 124–30.

[116] On the consciously pictorial nature of the cloak, cf. Shapiro (1980) (esp. 271–86), Margolies (1981), 51–52, Newman (1986), 77–80, Zanker (1987), 68–70, Hunter (1993), 57.

[117] Though Fusillo (1985), 303 finds only the Electryon scene 'Homeric' in tone. Bulloch in Easterling and Knox (1985), 594–95 sees a foreshadowing of Jason's treachery in the choice of scenes from the 'Catalogue'. For other interpretations, cf. the works cited in p. 25 n. 89. Moreover, the description of a beautiful cloak which attracts the attention of women links Jason to Odysseus later in the *Odyssey*, since the disguised Odysseus tells Penelope of a similar garment once worn by Odysseus (Od. 19.225–35); cf. Hunter (1993), 52–53.

the *Argonautica* as a whole, that it is providing a mythological background to a later *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

In both episodes it is one or more of the followers, and one who has not been enjoying the sexual favours of the women on the island, who hangs back and eventually suggests to those who have been with the women that they should leave; this is reinforced by the use of a line-end παρὰ νηῒ λέλειπτο 'was left by the ship' from Od. 10.447 at 1.855.[118] Although many of the resemblances to Circe in the Lemnos episode are already present in earlier accounts of the myth, the similarity between the behaviour and attitudes of Heracles and Eurylochus is more significant, since Heracles' staying behind may be Apollonius' invention, possibly introduced to heighten the parallels to Homer's Circe episode.[119] There is little to suggest directly that it is Heracles' idea that he and the others should remain by the ship, rather than a prudent action by Jason to protect the Argo against a raid by the Thracians who apparently pose such a threat (1.630–32, 1.636–37, 1.678–79); Jason certainly makes no attempt to persuade Heracles to come along and the matter is passed over quickly with no direct speech (1.854–56). Heracles himself only comments on Jason's actions later at 1.863–74.

However, the similarity between Heracles and Eurylochus on Circe's island hints that Heracles may himself insist on remaining behind, and that, like Eurylochus, he may have support from those in favour of guarding the ship (1.856, Od. 10.443–44).[120] In this case, Jason's acceptance is a contrast with the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus intends to kill Eurylochus when the latter threatens his authority by telling the men not to go to Circe (Od. 10.438–41). They dissuade Odysseus and suggest that they should leave Eurylochus behind, but he comes

---

[118] The parallel situation (Heracles corresponding to Odysseus' crew and the opening of his speech) is noted by Margolies (1981), 112–13, who observes the differences (in the *Odyssey* only one person enjoys the favours of the island's inhabitant(s)) and that Heracles bypasses Jason and addresses the crew generally, undermining Jason's authority. Cf. also Clauss (1993), 135–37; on pp. 144–45 he discusses the implication that staying on Lemos will 'unman' the Argonauts as Circe has the power to do to Odysseus in the *Odyssey*.

[119] A. Ardizzoni, *Le Argonautiche libro 1* (Bari: 1967) on 1.864 cites the 'Niobid crater' as earlier evidence for the story, but cf. T. J. MacNiven, "Odysseus on the Niobid Krater," *JHS* 109 (1989), 191–98. Feeney (1986), 54–55, suggests that Heracles' refusal displays his self-control.

[120] If διακρινθέντες (1.856) means 'keeping apart' (with Fränkel, *Noten*, 115–16 and Vian N.C. ad loc., who cite similar uses of κρίνω and its compounds in Apollonius). If it means 'ordered' (by Jason) this parallel with the *Odyssey* is less clear.

along reluctantly, fearing Odysseus' rebuke (Od. 10.447–48); he has already refused to accompany Odysseus after the disastrous first visit to Circe (Od. 10.263–73). The parallel with Eurylochus here may show Jason's comparative lack of authority over Heracles, or that exacting obedience is less important for him than it is for Odysseus. It also suggests a tension which is overtly expressed in a later allusion to *Odyssey* 10:

1.865 (Heracles) Δαιμόνιοι, πάτρης ἐμφύλιον αἷμ' ἀποέργει ἡμέας;
('Poor fools, does the shedding of kindred blood prevent us from returning home?')
Od. 10.472 Δαιμόνι', ἤδη νῦν μιμνήσκεο πατρίδος αἴης. . . .
('Forgetful man, it is time now to call your own land to mind once more. . . .')

Heracles' speech and that of Odysseus' men to their leader begin along similar lines.[121] The allusion is made more obvious by Heracles' beginning by reminding Jason of his homeland, rather than by speaking about the Golden Fleece, the main aim of the expedition and a parallel to the many other objects Heracles has to obtain.[122] This continues the similarity between Heracles and Eurylochus. It is clearer here that, like Odysseus' men, Heracles is not entirely obedient to the wishes of the leader of the party (despite having originally resigned his leadership to Jason at 1.345–48). The similarity to Odysseus' men (who perish as a result of their disobedience in eating the Cattle of the Sun) suggests that Heracles does not submit easily to authority; like them, he will be parted from the expedition as a result of following his own desires.[123]

Both speeches succeed in persuading the leader of the Greeks to leave the island and say goodbye to the women who have entertained them (1.875–78, Od. 10.475); in the *Odyssey* the final parting is postponed by the intervening visit to Hades. Circe's farewell to Odysseus is abrupt; but the euhemeristic preface to the Codex Palatinus, expanding on Odysseus' own opinion at Od. 9.32, sug-

---

[121] Cf. M. S. E. Brunius-Nilsson, *Δαιμόνιε: an Enquiry into a Mode of Apostrophe in Old Greek Literature* (Diss. Uppsala: 1955) 70–71.

[122] On these parallels between the episodes, cf. J. J. Clauss, *Allusion and the Narrative Style of Apollonius Rhodius: a Detailed Study of Book 1 of the Argonautica* (Diss. Berkeley: 1983) 91–93, 98–113.

[123] At this point Heracles also recalls Thersites in *Iliad* 2 (Vian I, 91 n. 2, Hunter (1993), 35–36).

gests that, like Hypsipyle, Circe hopes Odysseus will stay with her.[124] Hypsipyle anticipates that she may bear Jason's child (1.897–98); this possibility not only foreshadows the appearance of this child in the *Iliad*[125] but provides a parallel to another non-Homeric tradition about Circe, that of Telegonus, her child by Odysseus (told in the *Telegony*). Apollonius may have used these traditions about Circe and Odysseus in the farewell scene between Jason and Hypsipyle.

The parallels with the Circe episode on Lemnos are thus both verbal and narrative. The most prominent aspect of the Homeric model is Circe as the woman who seduces the leader and delays the journey, to the annoyance of other members of the party, reinforced by the structural parallel of scenes on the cloak corresponding to part of the *nekuia* of *Odyssey* 11.

b) *Phineus*

The stories of Phineus and Circe are obviously similar and are both versions of a folk-tale which can also be found in other European traditions.[126] In outline, this tale concerns a being with supernatural powers who lives in a wood and tells a party of heroes about the next stage in their journey, after being cornered by their leader. These features occur in the Greek legends about Phineus[127] and Circe, though individual accounts often omit some of them. Homer's Circe conforms quite closely to the folk-tale, whereas Apollonius' Circe does not offer hospitality or information. These functions are given to Phineus,[128] who does not, however, display in Apollonius the initial hostility to his visitors found in the folk-tale and in other versions of his story.[129]

Phineus is well attested before Apollonius, though not from completely surviving accounts. A possible acknowledgement of his fame in earlier poetry is the phrase πρίν ποτ' ἐπικλυτός 'once famous' (2.236).

---

[124] Cf. Buffière (1956), 248.

[125] For example Il. 7.467–71. Cf. Levin (1971), 31 and n. 2.

[126] Cf. esp. Meuli (1921), 98–114. This is doubted by Dufner (1988), 39–51, though she concedes that attested versions of Phineus' story resemble Circe's. On the 'sorceress/demon in the forest' type, cf. Bacon (1925), 77–78, Lindsay (1965), 368–69, Page (1973), 56–69.

[127] Asclep. Tragil. ap. Σ to Od. 12.69 = 12 F 2.

[128] Cf. Merkelbach (1969), 202.

[129] Cf. Meuli (1921), 103–6, Σ ad 2.206–8b (citing Dionysius), D.S. 4.43–44, Apollod. 3.15–23, [Orph.] A. 667–80.

In Hesiod he is troubled by Harpies (fr. 151 M-W), and the link with the Argonauts is established by the tragedians, possibly earlier. Sophocles wrote two plays about him, depicting him as a cruel tyrant, who blinds his own children.[130] The conversion of hostility to friendship in the *Argonautica* resembles Apollonius' treatment of the Lemnos episode, where the fighting in earlier accounts is replaced by friendly relations. The position is later reversed with Apollonius' Circe, who becomes hostile instead of the hospitable figure of the *Odyssey*. While retaining some traditional features of his story, Apollonius apparently varies others to characterise Phineus as a 'Prometheus' figure, whose efforts to help mankind result in Zeus' sending monstrous birds to persecute him until he is rescued by heroes.[131] A trace of the reluctance to give information which is common in this type of story is the incompleteness of Phineus' guidance to the Argonauts, though this has a different motivation (2.311–16).

Since the myths of Phineus and Circe are different versions of the same type of legend, it is misleading to speak of Apollonius' 'transferring' aspects of Circe to Phineus. His sources made both figures give hospitality and information to visitors, and Apollonius could choose which of them should do this in the *Argonautica* or whether both should. By making Circe and Phineus differ in their reaction to the Argonauts, he avoids the potential duplication of rôle; Phineus becomes a doublet not of Apollonius' Circe but of Homer's.

The location of the episode in the second quarter of the poem is another similarity to Homer's Circe episode. More important, in the light of the relationship in content, is its position immediately before the passage of the Symplegades. In Theoc. Id. 22.27–28, (possibly copying earlier accounts) the Argonauts visit Phineus *after* passing through the Symplegades; Apollonius does not adopt this order of events, which lessens the similarity of Clashing and Wandering Rocks and denies Phineus the opportunity to give instructions on how to pass the obstacle which they present.

Both Phineus and Homer's Circe have had the visit foretold to

---

[130] Blinding in *Antigone* 966–87, Σ ad 2.178–82b = fr. 704 Radt, (cf. frs. 710, 715; according to fr. 705 he kills his sons, but Pearson ad loc. says this may be wrong). This tradition is followed in the *Orphic Argonautica* ([Orph.] A. 671–79), where the Boreads punish Phineus for his cruelty and restore his sons' sight. On the evidence for Hesiod's treatment of the story, cf. Vian I, 142–44. On Apollonius' use of the varied traditions concerning Phineus, cf. Jackson (1993), ch. 2.

[131] Cf. Vian I, 146–48, Jackson (1993), 18–20.

them (2.194–96, 2.234–35, 2.458–61, Od. 10.330–32); this prophecy does not identify the visitors by name alone (2.234–35, Od. 10.330) but by the route of their voyage (2.459, Od. 10.332). Phineus and Circe recognise that these visitors will be able to offer a resistance that earlier visitors had not; they acknowledge this after falling at their feet (2.202–7, Od. 10.323). Phineus' collapse is also involuntary, brought on by an attempt to move when he is too weak to do so,[132] whereas Circe's reaction of supplication has been predicted by Hermes (Od. 10.296); the similar posture only illustrates further the difference between the self-confident goddess and the wretched prophet.

Food features prominently in both episodes, though in Apollonius it causes problems for the host rather than for the visitors, and in both scenes someone is released from affliction involving animals (Phineus from persecution by the Harpies, Odysseus' men from their transformation into pigs), a release which leads to a reunion (2.428–36, Od. 10.397–99). However, Odysseus' men are in a better physical state when restored to human shape than they were before they were transformed (Od. 10.395–96), but Phineus' punishment is only partially reversible since he cannot regain his sight (2.441–45). Phineus' acknowledgment of this indicates a greater pessimism in Apollonius, for whom afflictions sent from the gods cannot be entirely undone.[133]

In the *Argonautica* the success of the Argonauts which was noted above is not against Phineus himself, but against the Harpies who make his life a misery. The beginning of Odysseus' meeting with Circe, which has already been recalled in Phineus' initial approach to the Argonauts, is used again in the pursuit of the Harpies by the sons of Boreas. Circe and the Harpies, who have been causing harm, are threatened with swords and swear a solemn oath not to do any further harm;[134] on the advice of a messenger god (Hermes, Iris) the threat against them is then dropped. Motifs from the same Odyssean passage are used, this time applied not to Phineus but to his persecutors, while the Argonauts are still equivalent to Odysseus, as they are throughout the episode.

---

[132] On the medical realism of this description, cf. Erbse (1953), 186–87, T. M. Paskiewicz, *A Commentary on the Second Book of the Argonautica by Apollonius of Rhodes* (Diss. Oxford: 1981), 63–64, Zanker (1987), 72–73.

[133] The Argonauts are mortal and so are less powerful than the goddess Circe, but Phineus implies that not even a god could restore his sight.

[134] Swords at 2.265, 2.273–74, 2.288–89, Od. 10.261–62, Od. 10.294–95, Od. 10.321–22, the oath 2.289–94, Od. 10.299–301, Od. 10.343–46.

The most significant feature shared between the episodes is the long speech giving advice about the route ahead. In Homer this occurs towards the end of the episode, whereas in Apollonius it is almost exactly in the centre.[135] The speeches themselves are almost the same length; 97 lines (2.311–407), or 103 lines if 2.420–25 is included, as compared with 100 lines (Od. 12.37–141, breaking at Od. 12.111–15). Both come after a meal (2.307, Od. 12.30) and at night (2.308, Od. 12.31), but whereas Circe takes Odysseus aside to talk to him alone, the speech of Phineus appears to be a way of passing time until the sons of Boreas return (2.308) (a good example of Apollonius' narration of simultaneous events) and is addressed to the whole party.

During the course of Homer's Circe episode there are in fact two speeches which foretell Odysseus' future travels after he leaves her island; the speech of Circe in *Odyssey* 12 and that of Teiresias in Hades in *Odyssey* 11. Circe's other set of instructions to Odysseus, concerning his arrival at Hades (Od. 10.504–40), will be used later in the *Argonautica*, when Medea describes the precautions Jason will have to take to make himself invulnerable.

Besslich[136] makes a distinction between the content of Circe's speech in *Odyssey* 12 and that of Teiresias. Teiresias has little to say about the immediate journey but gives veiled prophecies about the future, whereas Circe 'completes' his speech with her precise instructions to Odysseus about the next stage in his voyage. Apollonius combines the two types of speech in Phineus'; the main part of it (2.311–407) resembles Circe's in being practical and informative,[137] but the elliptical hints concerning what will happen on the isle of Ares, in Colchis and on the return voyage (2.388–91, 2.420–25) are in the prophetic style of Teiresias.[138] The break in the speech at 2.408–19 separates

[135] 2.178–310 precede (133 lines), 2.408–536 follow (129 lines) On the structure of the episode, cf. Vian I, 148–49; A. Hurst, *Apollonios de Rhodes, manière et cohérence* (Rome: 1967) 69–71 and schema 8, sets the boundaries at 2.164 and 2.497. On the repetition in the episode, cf. Hurst (1967), 70 and Fusillo (1985), 28–30, 40, 101–5.

[136] S. Besslich, *Schwiegen—Verschwiegen—Übergehen: die Darstellung des Unausgesprochenen in der Odyssee* (Heidelberg: 1966) 54–56.

[137] L. Hensel, *Weissagungen in der alexandrinischen Poesie* (Diss. Giessen: 1908) 25–27, sees Circe's speech as more predictive; but she expresses Odysseus' return conditionally (Od. 12.140), as Phineus does with the passage of the Symplegades (2.345–46).

[138] Nelis (1988) 48–49 compares Phineus' advice to rely on Aphrodite (2.423–44) with Teiresias' instructions to sacrifice to Poseidon and the other gods (Od. 11.129–34). Phineus' advice concerning the Symplegades also recalls Nestor's instructions to his son Antilochus in Il. 23.306–48; cf. P. Rousseau, "Fragments d'un commentaire antique du récit de la course des chars," *Philologus* 136 (1992), 171.

the speech into these two parts (apart from 2.388–91) and brings out the difference in tone between them.

There are few striking similarities of phraseology between Circe's speech and Teiresias'. Circe speaks of a few places, but all in detail, whereas Phineus mentions many (e.g. at 2.377–78, 2.392–97) but only discusses a few at any length.[139] Nevertheless, there are ingenious correspondences between the places Circe describes and those mentioned by Phineus, despite the differing emphasis of the two speeches.

Both speeches begin with an appeal to pay attention followed by a mention of the gods' concern over what will be said (2.311–12, Od. 12.37–38). However, in the *Argonautica* the gods are anxious to have information withheld, not to bring it to mind at crucial moments as in the *Odyssey*; this difference reflects a crucial theme in the episode, the incompleteness of prophecy.[140]

The first place to be visited is introduced in a similar way in both speeches;

2.317 Πέτρας <u>μὲν</u> πάμ<u>πρωτον</u> . . .
Κυανέας ὄψεσθε . . .
('. . . you will first see the Dark Rocks. . . .')
Od. 12.39 Σειρῆνας <u>μὲν πρῶτον</u> ἀφίξεαι. . . .
('You will come to the Sirens first of all. . . .')

Since Phineus lives almost within sight of the Symplegades,[141] which are obviously a pendant to the Wandering Rocks, there is little room for a preceding section which would be equivalent to the description of the Sirens in Circe's speech. However, Phineus' preamble (2.311–16) could be compared to the Sirens' song (Od. 12.184–91) in suggesting that to impart knowledge fully is dangerous, in Homer for the hearer, in Apollonius for the speaker. The verbal similarity quoted above also pays a brief tribute to the section of Circe's speech which deals with the Sirens.

Both speeches look ahead to the passing of dangerous rocks, the Symplegades in Apollonius, the Wandering Rocks in Homer. Despite the clear differences in the behaviour of the two sets of rocks (cf. pp. 210–11), there are verbal echoes between the two passages (2.319–22,

[139] Nelis (1988), 177–83 finds a slightly different set of correspondences between the rest of the voyage in Book 2 and the events predicted in Circe's speech, by considering the voyage itself rather than Phineus' prediction of it; he compares the Sirens to the Harpies and Thynias to the island of Helios.

[140] On this theme, cf. Hunter (1993), 92–94.

[141] Cf. S. Ant. 966.

Od. 12.66–68) (pp. 197–98).[142] The main shared content between the passages is the violence of the waves, which is natural in a description of dangerous rocks.

The next section of Phineus' speech (2.345–81) quickly deals with a number of places which have little importance in the voyage. There are no verbal echoes of Circe's description of Scylla and Charybdis, which is the corresponding passage in the *Odyssey*. Instead there are verbal similarities with the accounts of these perils (and the Wandering Rocks) in Book 4 (2.361 καί μιν καλέουσι Κάραμβιν 'they call her Carambis'/4.829 τήν τε κλείουσι Κράταιΐν 'whom they call Crataeis',[143] 2.363 αἰθέρι κύρει/4.945 ἠέρι κῦρον 'reach the sky' at line end,[144] 2.367/4.790 δεινὸν ἐρεύγο- 'roar terribly' at line-beginning). This use of self-citation to hint at a correspondence to a speech in another epic is subtle, especially as it can only be appreciated on reading Book 4.

Finally, Thrinacia corresponds to the Island of Ares; these places are the last to be described in detail in the speech. Both places contain animals belonging to a god (the cattle of Helios, the birds of Ares) and both the episodes set in those places will involve sacrifice (2.1169–77, Od. 12.353–65) and shipwreck (cf. pp. 73–76). There is one verbal parallel (2.388 ἔνθα γὰρ ὔμμιν 'for there . . . to you', Od. 12.275 ἔνθα γὰρ . . . ἄμμιν 'for there . . . to us'). The benefit to the Argonauts of meeting the sons of Phrixus contrasts with the disaster which befalls Odysseus and his men because of killing the cattle of Helios, and the gaining of four new members of the crew stands in opposition to the loss of Odysseus' remaining companions.

Towards the end of the speech which is modelled on hers, Circe's own name appears as Phineus speaks of the πεδίοιό τε Κιρκαίοιο 'plain of Circe' (2.400); this reminds the reader of the Odyssean origins of the speech, as well as connecting Circe with Colchis, a connexion which will become increasingly important in the next part of the poem. Odysseus is about to leave Circe, whereas the Argonauts' destination is her native land. Phineus' speech thus employs a variety

---

[142] Nelis (1988), 46–47 notes the similarity, but considers that Apollonius varies Homer by placing the dangerous rocks first in the speech.

[143] The similarity here is largely phonetic rather than lexical, but in view of the identical meaning of καλέω and κλείω 'call' and the presence of other echoes of the same part of Book 4 in the vicinity it does not seem to me to be fortuitous.

[144] At 2.361/4.829 the verbal similarity is a phonetic one between the last two words in each line. On the rarity of κυρέω + dative, cf. Bulloch (1977), 118–19.

of ways of alluding to Circe's: direct verbal parallels, allusions to Apollonius' own account of Odyssean dangers in Book 4, similarities in situation (as on the island of Ares) and finally Circe's own name.

Both Odysseus and Jason would like to know more (2.411–18, Od. 12.112–14), though Odysseus' interjection comes in the middle of the speech, not at the end; both are denied the helpful information they seek.[145] The differences in their requests and in the reason for their refusal are characteristic; Odysseus wants to defy Scylla and is rebuked by Circe for wanting to attempt the impossible (Od. 12.115–23), whereas Jason wants to know about the journey home, of which Phineus is unwilling to speak (2.420–25). Odysseus does not react to the speech, but the Argonauts are afraid of what lies ahead (2.408–10).

There is also a parallel with the Hades episode, which is the setting for Teiresias' speech (Od. 11.100–37):

2.353 ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀΐδαο καταιβάτις ἐστὶ κέλευθος, . . .
355 δινήεις τ' Ἀχέρων αὐτὴν διὰ νειόθι τέμνων. . . .
('There is a path which descends to Hades . . . the swirling Acheron cuts through the headland itself. . . .')
Od. 10.512 αὐτὸς δ' εἰς Ἀΐδεω ἰέναι δόμον εὐρώεντα.
ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέουσι. . . .
('. . . pass on foot to the dank domains of Hades. At the entrance there, the stream of Acheron is joined by the waters of Pyriphlegethon. . . .')

This comes from Circe's other speech of direction to Odysseus (Od. 10.504–40), in which she gives instructions on how to reach Hades and summon the shade of Teiresias; this part of Homer's Circe episode is used again in Book 3.[146] Unlike Odysseus, the Argonauts do not visit Hades, but the passing of Acheron in Book 2 and other features of the landscape in that part of the voyage have chthonic colouring.[147] This substitute for Hades is foreshadowed in instructions given by a prophet who corresponds to the Homeric Circe;[148] the theme will be

---

145 Nelis (1988), 52 n. 25 notes this parallel.

146 On this allusion, cf. Nelis (1988), 49–50.

147 Cf. Lindsay (1965), 21–23, Vian I, 125–26, Beye (1982), 112–14, Nelis (1988), 172–79, 183–89. The underworld is suggested by the path to Hades (2.353–56, 2.734–45), the passage through the Symplegades (2.549–649, especially 2.609–10, 2.642–43), the song of Apollo's fight with Delphyne (2.705–12), the deaths of Idmon and Tiphys (2.815–57), Sthenelus' tomb (2.911–29), Prometheus' punishment (2.1256–59) and Jason's prayer to chthonic deities (2.1271–75).

148 Cf. E. Hatzantonis, "I geniali rimaneggiamenti dell'episodio omerico di Circe in Apollonio Rodio e Plutarco," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 54 (1976), 16 n. 21. For a more detailed comparison of Circe's instructions concerning Hades (Od. 10.488–540) with Phineus' speech, cf. Nelis (1988), 172–77.

further explored in Medea's instructions to Jason in Book 3.

The resemblances between Apollonius' Phineus and Homer's Circe are for the most part not shared with Apollonius' Circe. Hurst's attempt[149] to link the two episodes in the *Argonautica* by shared themes is thus contrived; it is better to connect them by their common derivation from the same Homeric episode. The importance of Homer's Circe episode here lies not so much in the characterisation of Phineus, whose situation and behaviour are different from Circe's, but in its structural rôle in relation to the rest of Book 2. The main point of similarity between them, the long speech of direction, is reinforced by the occurrence of other motifs from *Odyssey* 10 such as the oath and the sword (which are transferred to the Harpies rather than being used to intimidate Phineus), by the repeated parallels with Odysseus' first meeting with Circe and by its position within the poem.

c) *Book 3: Medea and Aeetes*

In each of the two previous episodes based on Homer's Circe episode, it was clear that only one character drew on Circe herself (Hypsipyle, Phineus).[150] The situation in Book 3 is complicated by some of Circe's attributes being transferred to Medea and some to her father Aeetes. In addition, there are general resemblances between the action of Book 3 and that of *Odyssey* 10. Both episodes involve a group of strangers arriving at a mysterious land where magic is used; their leader has a love affair with a woman who is the ruler or member of the ruling family. However, the Argonauts, unlike Odysseus, have come for a purpose, and have some idea what to expect, both from what they learnt about Colchis before they left and from the sons of Phrixus, whom they met at the end of the previous book.

Quite apart from any attributes which they share, Circe is connected to Medea and Aeetes because she is Aetees' sister and Medea's aunt; the relationship between Circe and Aeetes had already been given by Homer (Od. 10.137). The similarities between Circe's and Medea's behaviour were already established in earlier literature;[151]

---

[149] Hurst (1967), 141, dismissed as improbable by G. Lawall's review, *AJP* 91 (1970), 116.

[150] Apart from the similarity of the Harpies to Circe in Book 2.

[151] Str. 1.2.4, possibly using a Hellenistic source, believes Circe was based on Medea as Aeaea was based on Aea (cf. p. 154). Kirchhoff (1879), 289 notes that

both work magic and have a liaison with a seafaring Greek who comes to their country. However, this existing resemblance is also exploited in Apollonius by direct allusion to the *Odyssey*'s Circe episode.

Circe's association with Colchis has already been established even before Book 3 by the reference to the plain named after her in Colchis (2.400) in Phineus' speech based on the Odyssean Circe's.[152] The name of this plain is also the first of several occurrences of her name in Book 3, in another passage based on a speech of Circe's (3.200–3, Od. 10.510, Od. 10.529–30) (p. 198). Here, as well as her name, there are two parallels with Circe's speech explaining how Odysseus should contact Teiresias' shade; the two borrowed phrases appear in the same metrical position.[153] Apollonius' 'plain of Circe' is described in words recalling those of Homer's Circe. The reference to Odysseus' visit to Hades suits the chthonic subject-matter and adds further power to an already sinister description of Colchian customs concerning the dead.[154]

At 3.310–13, Aeetes tells how he accompanied his sister when she emigrated from Colchis to the West. Aeetes is himself aware that he is digressing as he says, irrelevantly, that Circe is still living in Tyrrhenia (3.314). This passage reminds the reader of the kinship between Aeetes and Circe, and also prepares for the Argonauts' visit to Circe in her new home in Book 4.[155]

Though Medea does not mention Circe herself, she tells Jason that she has heard of the land where she lives (3.1074) and Jason also speaks of it in his reply (3.1093). These three references to Aeaea will be discussed later (p. 186), but it may be observed now that Aeetes, who has already been there, is correct in his geography while Jason and Medea are not, and Jason has to confess to his countrymen's ignorance of Aeaea (3.1092–93). This suggests that he himself does not know much about it or about Circe, and lacks the information which could have told him that Medea is as powerful and dangerous as her aunt. These direct occurrences of Circe's name in the episode remind the reader of her existence and the potential of her actions

---

Circe is a 'counterpart' of Medea; Germain (1954), 646 believes that Homer's Circe is an attempt to 'outdo' Medea.

[152] This was a landmark: Timaeus 566 F 84 = Σ ad 2.399–401a.

[153] ἰτέαι 'willows' only occur once elsewhere in Homer (Il. 21.350). On the association of these trees with death, cf. Pliny, Nat. 16.26.

[154] On the chthonic aspects of Aea and *Odyssey* 11, cf. Nelis (1988), 191–93.

[155] Cf. Hunter on 3.311–13.

in the *Odyssey* as a model for the narrative and characters of Book 3.

In the opening scenes, a sequence of short parallels establishes *Odyssey* 10 as a model, with Aeetes playing the rôle of Circe:

3.183 (Jason) φρασσόμεθ' εἴ τ' ἄρηϊ συνοισόμεθ' εἴ τέ τις ἄλλη
μῆτις ἐπίρροθος ἔσται ἐεργομένοισιν ἀϋτῆς. . . .
('. . . [we shall] be able to decide whether to engage with him in war or whether, if we refrain from battle, some other device will help us.')
Od. 10.192 (Odysseus) ἀλλὰ φραζώμεθα θᾶσσον
εἴ τις ἔτ' ἔσται μῆτις· ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ οἴομαι εἶναι. . . .
('Let us ask ourselves quickly if some good plan may yet be found, though I fear there is none.')

Both groups of men are by their ship, after staying overnight, wondering how to approach the inhabitants of the strange land. Contrary to the generalisations often made about their respective characters, it is Odysseus who claims to be at a loss (Od. 10.189–97)[156] and Jason has concrete suggestions to make (3.176–93). Both heroes decide on a diplomatic approach to the ruler of the land, a course of action which proves disastrous in the short term. Jason obtains the fleece by theft, not by the force or diplomacy which he considers in his speech to his men before going to Aeetes.[157]

Afterwards, some of the visitors approach the home of the ruler of the land:[158]

3.215 ἔσταν δ' ἐν προμολῇσι, τεθηπότες ἕρκε' ἄνακτος. . . .
(They stood in the entrance-way, gazing in amazement at the royal court. . . .)
Od. 10.220 ἔσταν δ' ἐν προθύροισι θεᾶς καλλιπλοκάμοιο. . . .
('. . . they went on and paused at the outer doors of the goddess of braided hair.')

Both Circe and Aeetes offer hospitality despite their wish to harm the strangers. Though Aeetes threatens violence against the Argonauts and the sons of Phrixus (3.581–83) he does not succeed in

[156] This speech was criticised (cf. Σ^{QT} ad 3.189, Σ^{HQ}ad 3.193, Schlunk (1974), 53–55); Jason's different approach may be made in the light of these criticisms.

[157] Fränkel, *Noten*, 339 believes that Jason has theft in mind here but deliberately omits a dishonourable course of action. The only hint of a third way is ἄλλη μῆτις 'another plan' (3.183–84).

[158] Cf. the procedure in the *Odyssey*'s Cyclops episode, Calypso's island and Alcinous' palace (pp. 135, 221, 226–28). Williams (1991), 159–60 observes that the description of Aeetes' palace reminds the reader simultaneously of the homes of Nausicaa, Circe and Calypso. Thiel (1993), 112, compares Apollonius' own Circe episode (4.682).

harming them, unlike Circe. His desire to do so (3.378–81) is thwarted, ironically, because he has already shown hospitality similar to his sister's:

3.377 εἰ δέ κε μὴ προπάροιθεν ἐμῆς ἥψασθε τραπέζης. . . .
('If you had not already eaten at my table. . . .')
Od. 10.354 ἡ δ' ἑτέρη προπάροιθε θρόνων ἐτίταινε τραπέζας. . . .
('. . . in front of the chairs, a second drew up . . . tables. . . .')

Apollonius plays on the two Homeric uses of 'προπάροιθεν',[159] using the word temporally to mean 'before now' whereas the Odyssean passage uses it spatially to mean 'in front of'. As the Argonauts depart, there is a final echo of Circe's treatment of Odysseus' men, as both Aeetes and Circe can be dismissive to their guests:

3.434 Ἔρχεο νῦν μεθ' ὅμιλον, ἐπεὶ μέμονάς γε πόνοιο·
('Be off to your men, since you wish to undertake the task.')
Od. 10.320 Ἔρχεο νῦν συφεόνδε· μετ' ἄλλων λέξο ἑταίρων.
('Now . . . be off to the sty, to wallow with your companions there.')

The similarity to Circe's command to go to the pigsty as Aeetes sends the Argonauts back to their ship suggests his contempt for his visitors, but is also humorous.

Another possible introduction of Circe's name, made more plausible by the other allusions to Circe throughout Book 3, is the omen (3.541–43), which substitutes a hawk (κίρκος) for the eagle which appears in the closest Homeric models (Il. 8.247–52, Od. 20.242–43).[160] In the omen's interpretation the hawk corresponds by implication to Aeetes (3.545–54);[161] this too connects Aeetes with Homer's Circe.[162]

Another series of allusions to the *Odyssey*'s Circe episode is concerned with the magical aspects of Aea. Both Homer's Circe and Aeetes own unusual animals (the tame lions and wolves and the bronze bulls).

---

[159] Cf. Vian's 1961 edition on 3.377. The word is used temporally in Homer, at e.g. Il. 11.734.

[160] κίρκος occurs elsewhere only in similes in Apollonius.

[161] Gillies (1928) on 3.541 misinterprets it as corresponding to Apsyrtus. Campbell, *Studies*, 36–37 and n. 8 notes the vagueness but believes that Aeetes is meant.

[162] Cf. also two similes about hawks pursuing doves (1.1049–50, 4.485–87); as often in Apollonius what is narrative in one passage becomes simile in another. These in turn derive from Il. 22.139–42, where, as in 3.541–43, there is only one hawk and one dove. On the close relationship between similes and omens in Homer, cf. Lonsdale (1990), 112–15.

The initial reaction of the visitors to the sight of these animals is described in similar words:[163]

3.1293 ἔδδεισαν δ' ἥρωες ὅπως ἴδον. . . .
(Fear seized the heroes at the sight. . . .)
Od. 10.219 τοὶ δ' ἔδεισαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἰνὰ πέλωρα.
('The sight of the strange huge creatures dismayed my men. . . .')

In both episodes a god (Eros, Hermes) intervenes to help the hero to resist the power of the land's ruler; in Jason's case, this is done indirectly by Medea's magic, which is only obtainable by Eros' influence. This resistance is achieved by using a special plant (the Prometheion, *moly*) (p. 198). Both poets describe the plant's root and flower, using the μέν . . . δέ construction, though Apollonius reverses the order. He also expands considerably on Homer's description, using 'scientific' detail as if in a botanical handbook.[164] Homer only mentions the plant's colour, whereas Apollonius describes its height (3.854), its shape (3.856) and possibly its texture (3.857); in the last case the reference to raw flesh gives a sinister emphasis, as does the plant's origin from Prometheus' blood.[165] A similar origin, from the blood of Picolous, was proposed for *moly*,[166] and one possible identification of the Prometheion, the mandrake, was also known as Κιρκαῖον 'Circe's plant'.[167]

Both plants have special names, although in Apollonius knowledge of this is not confined to the gods. Neither plant is simply to be pulled up by mortals without effort (3.858–66, Od. 10.305–6) and in both poems it is given to the hero by someone else who has uprooted it. The scene in which Jason uses this plant also draws on the Circe episode, though on a different part of it, and will shortly be discussed.

The Circaean allusions so far considered have related to Aeetes and to the magic practised in Colchis. Both of these themes con-

---

[163] Cf. Call. h. 3.51, which also changes ἐπεί to ὅπως 'when' (Herter (1929), 80 n. 99, Cahen (1929), 520).

[164] Cf. E. Burck, "Jasons Kämpfe in Kolchis bei Apollonios Rhodios und C. Valerius Flaccus" in *Δώρημα H. Diller zum 70 Geburtstag: Dauer und Überleben des antiken Geistes* (Athens: 1975) 16.

[165] On the lack of Homeric naivety and the greater suggestiveness of Apollonius' description, cf. C. Lacombrade, "Une reviviscence hellénistique du mythe de Prométhée," *Pallas* 10 (1961), 23.

[166] Alexander of Paphos ap. Eustath. 381 ad Od. 10.277.

[167] Dsc. 4.75. Cf. R. J. Clark, "A Note on Medea's Plant and the Mandrake," *Folklore* 79 (1968), 227–31; however, he does not connect it with Circe. For theories about the Prometheion, cf. also Vian N.C. on 3.857, Lacombrade (1961), 23–29. It was probably mentioned in Sophocles' *Colchians* (fr. 340), cf. Lacombrade (1961), 25.

verge in the person of Medea, the daughter of Aeetes, whose magic proves essential to the success of the expedition. A group of parallels with Circe cluster round Medea and her actions, completing the pattern of allusion to *Odyssey* 10–12.

Several epithets of Circe are transferred to Medea; she is πολυφάρμακος 'with many drugs' (3.27, 4.1677, cf. Od. 10.276)[168] and δολόεσσα 'wily' (3.89, cf. Od. 9.32). Both Medea and Circe are described as Αἰαίη 'of Aea' or 'of Aeaea' (Medea 3.1136, 4.243, Circe Od. 9.32, Od. 12.268, Od. 12.273); as is Apollonius' Circe (4.559). Medea has heard of her aunt's home (3.1074), though she does not mention her by name.

Medea's dressing resembles that of Circe:[169]

3.834 ἀμβροσίῳ δ' ἐφύπερθε καρήατι βάλλε καλύπτρην
ἀργυφέην.
(. . . and over her divinely sweet head she threw a silver-white veil.)
Od. 10.544 . . . περὶ δὲ ζώνην βάλετ' ἰξυῖ
καλὴν χρυσείην, κεφαλῇ δ' ἐπέθηκε καλύπτρην.
('. . . she fastened a lovely gold girdle round her waist and slipped a scarf over her head.')

Later, both Circe and Medea are characterised as a πότνια θηρῶν 'mistress of the wild beasts', though this is done for Medea by a simile likening her to Artemis, which comes soon after the description of the Prometheion, and which recalls the description of Circe's animals (3.876–84, Od. 10.212–15) (p. 198). The four-word rhythm of Od. 10.215 is copied at 3.884, with the same endings to the last two words. The Homeric passage itself precedes a simile which is echoed in Apollonius' own Circe episode.[170] In each case the animals are unusually tame wild beasts, made docile in the presence of a goddess. The wild beasts which correspond to the Colchians are not specifically wolves and lions, like those in Apollonius' Circe episode, and unlike those in *Odyssey* 10.[171] The animals and Colchians are also apparently in awe of Artemis and Medea, whereas in the *Odyssey*

---

[168] The epithet occurs only here in Apollonius; on its characterisation of Medea in relation to Circe, cf. L. Belloni, "Medea Πολυφάρμακος," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 2 (1981), 117–33, esp. 121–23, 132–33; distinguishing its two occurrences, he relates only the first directly to Homer's Circe; however, in establishing his contrast he underrates Medea's sinister qualities. Medea is παμφάρμακος 'knowing all drugs' at Pindar, P. 4.233.

[169] The same lines are also used of Calypso (Od. 5.231–32).

[170] Cf. also HHAph. 68–72.

[171] ἀμφὶ δέ 'around' is used of both (3.883, 3.885).

Circe's animals are simply friendly to Odysseus' men (Od. 10.218–19). 3.885–86 (immediately after the simile) hint that Medea possesses supernatural powers, because the Colchians avoid catching her eye, and the parallel to Circe reinforces this suggestion. Like Artemis, Medea may not like being stared at.

The animals which fawn on Artemis are not mentioned in the main model for the simile, the simile applied to Nausicaa at Od. 6.102–9 (Od. 6.104 refers to animals she hunts), though the addition of them is in keeping with Artemis' nature as πότνια θηρῶν. By introducing animals here, Apollonius alludes to two of his models for Medea, both taken from the second quarter of the *Odyssey*.

Medea's magic is described in a sentence which combines three phrases from *Odyssey* 10 (3.910–11 κακώτερον ἄλλο πόρωμεν φάρμακον 'we can give him another, more deadly, drug', Od. 10.213 κακὰ φάρμακ(α) 'deadly drug', Od. 10.302 πόρε φάρμακον 'gave a drug', Od. 10.392 φάρμακον ἄλλο 'another drug'). Although none of these words is unusual in this context, the conjunction of the three creates an Odyssean ambience. Although Medea uses her magic in Book 3 to help Jason, the resemblance to Circe reminds the reader that, like Circe, she is capable of using it for harmful ends, a possibility which she hints at deceitfully to her maids at 3.910–11 and which is realised later in her treatment of Talos and Pelias.

Medea's desire to help rather than deceive is expressed in another allusion, as the plans of Medea and Circe are revealed to the visitors; Odysseus is protected against δήνεα but Jason is helped by them:[172]

3.1168 αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖς πάντεσσι μετέννεπε δήνεα κούρης
(Jason told them of all of the young girl's schemes. . . .)
Od. 10.289 (Hermes) πάντα δέ τοι ἐρέω ὀλοφώϊα δήνεα Κίρκης. . . .
('I will tell you of all Circe's witch's arts. . . .')

As in *Odyssey* 10, one of the visiting Greeks wants nothing to do with the worker of witchcraft[173] (Idas at 3.556–66 (mentioning the κίρκος again), and 3.1169–70, Eurylochus at Od. 10.429–48).

Both Circe and Medea give the Greek leader instructions for a ritual which he must perform before embarking on a chthonic undertaking (the visit to Hades, Jason's *aristeia*).[174] In each case the ritual

[172] Cf. Hunter ad loc.
[173] Cf. Heracles' behaviour on Lemnos (pp. 167–68); all apart from Jason and Medea stay with the ship when they visit Circe.
[174] Cf. the instructions of Phineus about passing the Symplegades and the voyage thereafter (pp. 172–75).

involves invoking an inhabitant of Hades (Teiresias/Hecate), which in turn ensures that the rituals themselves are similar (3.1029–38, 3.1207, Od. 10.516–29) (p. 199).[175] The similarity shows both Medea's and Circe's command of the details of religious ritual and their familiarity with the deities of Hades; in another passage (Od. 12.124) Homer's Circe, like Medea, advises invocation of Hecate (3.1035).[176] The two victims (Od. 10.527) have become one, anomalously described as a θῆλυν ἀρνειόν, literally a 'female ram'; the apparent contradiction indicates the bizarre nature of the ritual.[177] The sacrificer has to turn away (3.1038–41, Od. 10.528–29), a natural requirement in this type of rite.[178] Both rituals are successful and from then on the main concern of the Greeks is to return home. Thus the two sets of instructions Circe gives Odysseus in *Odyssey* 10 and 12 are both paralleled in the *Argonautica*, in Books 3 and 2 respectively.

After Jason's ordeal, however, it is Medea who recalls Eurylochus, as she adopts a suppliant's posture and advises flight (4.81–91, Od. 10.264–69). The verbal resemblances of Homer's Circe to Medea do not continue into Book 4 except at 4.731, where Circe's relationship to Aeetes in Homer is recalled in a phrase describing Medea:

4.731 βαρύφρονος Αἰήταο
κούρη. . . .
(. . . the daughter of cruel-minded Aeetes. . . .)
Od. 10.137 αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο·
('. . . the sister of baleful Aeetes. . . .')

Appropriately, this line occurs in Apollonius' own Circe episode. As we see a different side of Medea in Book 4,[179] this particular model for her is stressed less strongly. Her similarities to Homer's Circe are

---

[175] On 3.1032–34 and resemblances and differences between the rituals, cf. M. Campbell, "Critical Notes on Apollonius Rhodius," *CQ* n.s. 19 (1969), 280–82, who considers the passage to be a good example of Apollonian *variatio*. He notes how in both epics the blood brings the person invoked, Jason's dark clothes (3.1031, 3.1204–5) recall the dark victim (Od. 10.524–25) and both Odysseus and Jason hurry away in fear after the encounter. Cf. also Vian, N.C. on 3.1029, Nelis (1988), 196.

[176] Under the name Crataeis, in connection with Scylla; Apollonius identifies Crataeis with Hecate (4.829).

[177] Marxer (1935), 60, and Vian, N.C. ad loc. think that this is a misunderstanding of Od. 10.527.

[178] Cf. Od. 5.350, Jebb on S. OC 490.

[179] On the development of Medea during the poem, cf. Herter (1944/55), 292–94, E. Phinney, "Narrative Unity in the Argonautica, the Medea-Jason Romance," *TAPA* 98 (1967), 333–38, R. L. Hunter, "Medea's Flight: the Fourth Book of the *Argonautica*," *CQ* 37 (1987), 129–31.

established, then put in the background before Circe herself is introduced into the narrative; they hint that Medea may become dangerous later on and suggest hidden aspects which belie her apparent attractiveness. In Book 4 Medea exhibits another Circean trait, a lack of scruples in harming others, as she collaborates in the murder of her brother.

The references to Homer's Circe in Book 3 establish the family ties which link Aea and Aeaea (thus locating the action in the Homeric mythological world), provide a model for part of the plot, and help to characterise Medea and Aeetes as dangerous wielders of magic. Circe becomes one of several Homeric characters who are recalled in Medea;[180] the most obvious similarity between them (reinforced by numerous allusions) is their use of witchcraft, but they also show a sexual interest in their visitors before helping them in their efforts to return home.[181]

d) *Circe in Book 4*

The visit to Circe is likely originally to have been part of the Argo legend, because of Circe's kinship to Medea; Homer knows of her relationship to Aeetes (Od. 10.137),[182] and a meeting may have been mentioned in Timaeus.[183] The Circe story is generally recognised to belong to the same family of folk-tales as that of Phineus,[184] but if the Argonauts had an encounter with Circe in earlier literature similar to that recounted in the *Odyssey*, then Apollonius has adapted his material so that there is little duplication between Circe and Phineus.

---

[180] Others are Nausicaa, Penelope, Andromache and Helen; on the technique of using several models to guide our emotional response to a character, cf. J. Griffin, "The Creation of Characters in the *Aeneid*" in *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome* ed. B. K. Gold (Austin: 1982), 127–31.

[181] Circe invites Odysseus to go to bed with her, whereas Medea's attraction to Jason is apparent before his feelings for her are. The novelty of Apollonius' treatment of Medea's feelings (cf. Sainte-Beuve (1889), 365, Wordsworth (1929), 196–202, G. Zanker, "The Love Theme in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*," *Wiener Studien* n.f. 13 (1979), 58–63) would make this aspect of her character more striking to the epic's original readers than to modern ones.

[182] Cf. Delage, *Géographie*, 239, R. Roux, *Le Problème des Argonautes: recherches sur les aspects religieux de la légende* (Paris: 1949) 24–25.

[183] An inference by J. Geffcken, *Timaios' Geographie des Westens* (Berlin: 1892) 94, 131, from Str. 5.2.6; cf. Pearson (1987), 64, Dufner (1988), 140. However Hatzantonis (1976), 7 believes that Apollonius had no tradition linking Circe with the Argonauts.

[184] Cf. p. 169. Cf. Meuli (1921), 112–14; Merkelbach (1969), 202–4 believes that Homer took Circe (and some details at least of the episode) from the Argo story; Eisenberger (1973), 152–57 disagrees.

For example, the wood is not mentioned in either story (Phineus' house is on the seashore (2.178)), although it appears in most instances of the folk-tale, including Homer's. Apollonius also gives a version of the Phineus story in which he is friendly to the Argonauts; Circe's hostility remains, but has a 'human' motivation and is not overcome, and she does not exercise magic on her visitors. She does not explain the route to them; this action of Homer's Circe is given to Phineus.

Circe's kinship to Medea allows Apollonius to treat the incident differently from Homer, since Circe now has a family connexion to, and hence an emotional involvement with, her visitors. However, nothing is made of Circe's relationship to Phrixus' sons, who presumably stay with the other Argonauts, although Medea mentions them (4.736).[185] The scene is a confrontation between Medea and Circe to which even Jason is not fully a party, not a family reunion. The episode is the central one of three in Book 4 in which Medea meets people from her Colchian past, the others being the meeting with Apsyrtus and his followers and the judgement on Drepane.

Circe's appearance is prepared for by occurrences of her name and the names of places sharing it,[186] and finally by Zeus' plans that she should purify the Argonauts (4.559–61). These are revealed to the crew by the Argo's talking beam (4.587–91), which also tells them her parentage.[187] Neither of these two passages makes explicit Circe's kinship to Aeetes or to Medea. The Argonauts are better informed than Odysseus is in the *Odyssey*, where he knows nothing about the island's inhabitants when he first lands on it, until Eurylochus and then Hermes tell him about Circe.

The location of Circe on the west coast of Italy is referred to several times (3.311–13, 4.659–61, 4.849–50, 4.856) (p. 199). Four times Aeaea is called a 'headland of Tyrrhenia', an unusual amount of repetition for Apollonius. Twice ἤπειρος 'mainland' is added; the land is also called Ausonia (4.590, 4.660)[188] and Aeetes describes it as ἑσπερίης . . . χθονός . . . μάλα πολλὸν ἀπόπροθι Κολχίδος Αἴης 'the

---

[185] Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 528 n. 153.

[186] 2.400, 3.200–9, 3.309–13, 3.1074, 3.1092–93.

[187] Both these last two passages speak of washing as the way to be cleansed (4.560, 4.587–88), preparing for it in the episode (4.663–64, 4.706–7, 4.710, cf. Od. 10.368–70).

[188] Leading L. Pearson, "Apollonius of Rhodes and the Old Geographers," *AJP* 59 (1938), 452, to suspect the influence of Hecataeus. On the learned tone of 'Ausonia', cf. Delage, *Géographie*, 238–39.

western land. . . . very far indeed from Colchian Aea' (3.311–13). Apollonius stresses that he situates Circe's home on the coast of Tyrrhenia, not on an island, the most likely identification being the traditional one of the peninsula Monte Circeo.[189] The association of Circe with Tyrrhenia can be traced to Hesiod.[190]

This contradicts the position in Homer, where Circe lives on an island (Od. 10.135, Od. 10.308, Od. 11.70, Od. 12.3) and in the East (Od. 12.3–4).[191] The latter location would be at odds with those of the other 'Odyssean' episodes in Apollonius, but he incorporates the 'Eastern' associations of Circe by making her emigrate from Colchis to Italy (3.311–13),[192] thus eliminating geographical vagueness about the location of Aeaea. The topography of the area is like Homer's, with Circe living some way from the shore, though Apollonius does not mention the wood surrounding her house (which appears at Od. 10.210 and elsewhere).

In the *Argonautica* Medea believes in Homer's version, referring to Αἰαίη νῆσος 'the island of Aeaea' (3.1074), as does Jason in his reply to her (3.1093). Medea's knowledge of the Greek world is limited to Orchomenus (Phrixus' original home) and Circe's home, both places with family connections.[193] Even then she is wrong about her aunt's home, something which shows her lack of knowledge of the outside world and hints at her future dependence on Jason. Jason replies that the people of Iolcus do not know of Circe's island, hardly surprisingly since there is no such island, though the name Aeaea is correct. This is one of the few instances in which Apollonius contradicts the *Odyssey*, and his independence of Homer is emphasised by repetition of the detail; Circe does not now live on an island, but the Odyssean references to her location (near the Sirens, in the East) are acknowledged.

There is some play on the similarity between the names of Circe's

---

[189] Σ ad Od. 10.135. The promontory of Circeum resembles an island from the sea (Phillips (1953), 55–56).

[190] Hes. Th. 1011–16 (her sons by Odysseus live in Tyrrhenia).

[191] Wilamowitz (1924) v. 2, 178, commenting on 4.849–50, wrongly plays down the contrast with Homer. Fränkel, *Noten*, 343 (on 3.312) also misses the point by saying the confusion is because Circe lives on a peninsula. F. Vian, "L'isthme de Cyzique d'après Apollonios de Rhodes (1.936–41)," *Revue des Études Grecques* 91 (1978), 97 n. 9 equates νῆσος with ἀκτή 'headland'.

[192] Possibly a reference to Circe's exile; cf. Hatzantonis (1976), 8–10.

[193] As she knows of Ariadne (3.1074–76); cf. Sainte-Beuve (1889), 400, G. W. Mooney, *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Dublin: 1912) on 3.1073, Hunter on 3.1071–74.

island and Medea's home.[194] The adjective Αἰαίη is applied to both Medea (3.1136, 4.243) meaning 'of Aea' and Circe (4.559) meaning, presumably, 'of Aeaea', though this is ambiguous in view of Circe's Colchian connexions. The use of the same adjective for both places and both people links Circe to Medea's home.[195]

As in Homer, Circe has warning of her visitors' arrival but it is, more rationally, a dream (4.664–69) rather than a visit from Hermes, the god of dreams (Od. 10.330–32). Her dream, like others in the *Argonautica*,[196] is not of the Homeric type where a person gives the dreamer a message, but rather puts her in an imaginary situation, as dreams in tragedy do.[197] It hints only at the pollution approaching Aeaea (4.665–67), and at its removal by bloodshed (4.668–69), but does not suggest that this will be a family affair.

Circe is introduced without any preamble and there is no equivalent to the lines devoted to her when Odysseus first lands at Od. 10.135–39. Her genealogy has already been given (4.591), but she 'needs no introduction' because the reader should remember her from Homer. She is not called a θεός 'goddess' as she is at Od. 10.136 and elsewhere; this would make her brother Aeetes into a god, and the change reflects Circe's apparent lack of magical powers in Apollonius. This is indicated also in her dream where her drugs are destroyed (4.666–67), and belong in the past; a further 'humanising' touch is the fear which she has to dispel (4.669).

When we first see her, Circe is washing her hair and clothes on the shore. Homer's ἐϋπλόκαμος 'with beautiful hair' (used of Circe at Od. 10.136, Od. 11.8, Od. 12.150) is recalled with the mention of Circe's πλοκάμους 'hair' (4.671).[198] There is bathing also in Homer's

---

[194] Not a coincidence, since the name Aeaea appears to be derived from Aea. Aea is generally taken as Aeetes' city, not an area, but 2.1267 (Κυταιίδα τε πτόλιν Αἴης 'Cytaean city of Aea') tells against this, as does its connexion with the common noun αἶα 'land' (Lesky (1948), 46–47). Cf. A. Platt, "On Apollonius Rhodius," *Journal of Philology* 33 (1913), 40, discussing 4.131.

[195] Αἰαίη 'Aeaen' is always an adjective in Homer and Apollonius, used with νῆσος 'island' (Od. 10.135, Od. 11.70, Od. 12.3, cf. 3.1093), and Circe's name (Od. 9.32, Od. 12.268, Od. 12.273).

[196] 3.617–32 (cf. pp. 232–33) (like Circe's, a frightening dream), 4.1733–45.

[197] Cf. de la Ville de Mirmont (1894), 121. A. H. M. Kessels, "Dreams in Apollonius' *Argonautica*," in *Actus: Studies in Honour of H. L. W. Nelson* (Utrecht: 1982), 161–63, discusses the dream's prognostic aspect, the way it sets the tone (cf. also Segal (1968), 429), and its influence on Circe's behaviour. The flame may represent Medea (Dyck (1989), 463 n. 38).

[198] Like Aphrodite at 3.45–50, she is caught by visitors attending to her hair.

Circe episode (Od. 10.360–63, Od. 10.449–50), though there Circe bathes others.

The most direct parallel between the Homeric and Apollonian accounts of the meeting with Circe is the description of Circe's animals, illustrated by a simile (4.672–82, Od. 10.212–19); the Odyssean passage has already been used in Book 3 (cf. p. 181). In Homer Odysseus' men hear Circe singing before they see her, whereas in Apollonius the Argonauts see Circe and her animals together. The animals follow Circe in Apollonius rather than surrounding the visitors as they do in Homer, a difference which is reflected in the simile where sheep following the shepherd replace dogs crowding round their master.[199] Apollonius' simile is more closely parallel to the action, since Circe is mistress of her animals as the sheep are under the control of their shepherd, whereas Odysseus' men have no connexion with them.[200]

In Homer, despite the exotic setting, Circe's animals are species the audience would have heard of; in Apollonius they are strange hybrids and there is a digression on the early history of the earth, using the vocabulary of the cosmologists and other scientific writers.[201] The unexpected introduction of scientific theory recalls the song of Orpheus (1.496–511); here it suggests that Apollonius is going back to the 'beginning' of poetry in drawing on Homer in this scene and the following ones, as the animals resemble those at the beginning of the world (4.676).[202] The animals in the *Argonautica* are apparently

---

[199] Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 520–21.

[200] Händel (1954), 120–21 finds that Apollonius' simile corresponds more closely to its context.

[201] στίξ 'species' has no attested parallel in this sense (Erbse (1953), 176 and n. 3). ἰκμάς 'moisture' (Il. 17.392) also occurs in the medical and biological writings of 'Hippocrates' and Aristotle (Hp. Aër. 8, Arist. PA 668b4) and in Herodotus (3.125). συγκρίνω 'combine' occurs only in prose before Apollonius (cf. Empedocles 31 A 37 D-K, Anaxagoras, B 4 D-K) and the un-Homeric πιλέω 'compress' at Empedocles 31 A 49 D-K. A similar theory concerning the origin of life is used to explain the story of Proteus (Heraclit. All. 65). On its relationship to the theory of the four elements, cf. Vian, N.C. on 4.681. On Empedocles in Apollonius, cf. Wilamowitz (1924), v. 2, 183, Campbell, *Studies*, 129, P. Kyriakou, "Empedoclean Echos in Apollonius Rhodius' 'Argonautica'," *Hermes* 122 (1994), 309–19, who discusses this passage on pp. 317–18.

[202] On the whole of the return journey as retracing a cosmogony, cf. R. L. Hunter, "Greek and Non-Greek in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius," in *Ἑλληνισμός: quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque*, ed. S. Said (Leiden: 1991) 98–99. On the cosmology of Orpheus' song in Book 1, cf. S. Busch, "Orpheus bei Apollonios Rhodios," *Hermes* 121 (1993), 310–11.

not transformed men, as is hinted in Homer (Od. 10.212–13),[203] and there is no mention of magic.

The origin of the animals from the primal clay also links Circe to her brother Aeetes, who likewise has control over unusual animals and creatures born from the earth (3.409–16). However, Circe's animals are not overcome by the Argonauts, unlike earth-born creatures elsewhere in the poem.[204] They do not fawn on the Argonauts as they do in the *Odyssey*; this aspect of the Odyssean scene is recalled instead in Book 1 when Rhea accepts the worship of the Argonauts.[205] The reactions to the animals also differ; fear from Odysseus' men (Od. 10.219), amazement from Jason's (4.682).[206] This change is appropriate to the different nature of the animals; instead of being lions and wolves, whose normally savage behaviour is (through similes) part of the world of the epic, they are unlike any creature the Argonauts know.[207] Their bizarre shapes are a reminder that strange things can happen on Circe's territory, and, combined with the mention of her drugs (4.666–67) and the influence of Homer's Circe, hint at her sinister powers, without making it clear whether she will or even can use them.[208] The appearance of the animals, complete with a simile from Homer's Circe episode, and their differences from those in Homer, set the tone for the whole scene,

---

[203] This passage only refers to their being bewitched, but Eurylochus believes that Circe can transform men into lions and wolves (Od. 10.433). In neither author is it explicitly stated that Circe has changed the shape of the animals which accompany her; on the disturbing possibility that the animals on Circe's island in Homer are transformed men, cf. D. Roessel, "The Stag on Circe's Island; an Exegesis of a Homeric Digression," *TAPA* 119 (1989), 31–36. Virgil makes it quite clear that they are (Aen. 7.19–20); cf. V. G. Stephens, "Like a Wolf on the Fold: Animal Imagery in Vergil," *Illinois Classical Studies* 15 (1990), 108–10, on this difference and its relationship to the theme of animals in the *Aeneid.*

[204] Lawall (1966), 133 n. 21.

[205] 1.1144 θῆρες δ' εἰλυούς τε κατὰ ξυλόχους τε λιπόντες
οὐρῇσιν σαίνοντες ἐπήλυθον.
(Wild animals left their dens and lairs in the forest and came fawning with their tails)
Od. 10.214 ἀλλ' ἄρα τοί γε
οὐρῇσιν μακρῇσι περισσαίνοντες ἀνέσταν.
('They reared up, instead, and fawned on them with their long tails.')

[206] Contrast Medea's feelings of fear later (4.749, 4.752); cf. Dyck (1989), 463.

[207] On this difference, cf. Hatzantonis (1976), 12–14, who sees either an intensification of Circe's powers of metamorphosis or a way of working in cosmological theory. The animals are more supernatural and more rational (Dufner (1988), 77–80), or grotesque (Segal (1968), 429).

[208] Beye (1982), 153, finds Circe's animals an amusing contrast to her seriousness, but ignores Circe's occult activities.

and indeed for all the 'Odyssean' episodes which follow; Circe will resemble the Circe of the *Odyssey*, but Odysseus' adventures will not be exactly repeated.

As in Homer, a separate party visits Circe while most stay behind (4.686–89, Od. 10.208–9).[209] The beckoning gesture of Circe (4.687), calling Jason's men as she calls Odysseus' (Od. 10.231, cf. also Od. 10.405), recalls her seductive allure in the *Odyssey*, a characteristic which is otherwise lacking in Apollonius' Circe.[210] δολοφροσύνῃσιν 'guilefully' (4.687) echoes Odysseus' own description of Circe's actions (Od. 10.339 δολοφρονέουσα). However, the gesture is ineffectual, as Jason instructs his men to remain behind while he and Medea go on alone. This attempt to lure Jason's men to her home replaces Circe's transformation of Odysseus' companions, changing magic into normal seduction (cf. 4.667). Apollonius hints at Circe's Homeric rôle of seductress only to dismiss it. ἐρύσσατο 'he took' (4.689) recalls Od. 10.294, Od. 10.321 ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ 'drawing [his sword] from beside his thigh'; Jason takes Medea to protect him as Odysseus does his sword. Swords actually appear in both scenes; Odysseus threatens Circe with his (Od. 10.321–22), whereas Jason sticks his in the ground to show guilt (4.696–97).

Circe suggests that the strangers sit down on seats, the first action of a Homeric host (4.691–92);[211] like her beckoning to Jason's men, this gesture is ineffectual since Jason and Medea instead adopt the suppliants' position at her hearth. Thus neither of her first two actions on meeting the Argonauts produces the expected result; this resembles the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus does not behave as Circe expects when she tries to transform him.

Circe purifies the suppliants before asking their identity (4.700–17). In Homer the position is reversed and it is Circe who supplicates the unknown Odysseus (Od. 10.323).[212] However, the many non-Homeric words used at this point create a distance from the *Odyssey*; some are unattested earlier and may be Apollonius' own

---

[209] Both scenes are bipartite, cf. Dufner (1988), 74.

[210] On Homer's Circe as 'donna amante', an aspect lacking in Apollonius, cf. Hatzantonis (1976), 14–15.

[211] Cf. Od. 1.130–31, Od. 3.34–39, Od. 10.314–15 (Circe), N. J. Richardson, ed., *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: 1974) on HHDem. 180ff.

[212] ἀπολυμαίνομαι 'be purified by bathing' (4.702) only occurs before at Il. 1.313–14 (cf. Dufner (1988), 75); as there, the cleansing is not the end of troubles for those concerned. Cf. 2.215 (the Phineus episode) Ἱκεσίου πρὸς Ζηνός, ὅ τις ῥίγιστος ἀλιτροῖς | ἀνδράσι 'By Zeus, protector of suppliants, who is most terrible to men who sin. . . .'.

invention,[213] others are very rare,[214] and others are associated with tragedy.[215] These last are appropriate in a situation resembling that of Orestes in *Eumenides* (ritually cleansed from the murder of kin, Medea is still not free from pursuit). Purification from murder does not occur in Homer;[216] though the pig is a common victim in this kind of purification,[217] there remains the disturbing possibility that the sacrificial victim was originally human, since the reader knows that Circe performed this transformation on Odysseus' men.

Circe's servants (4.710–11) also appear at Od. 10.348–59 though their duties are not described in detail, as they are in Homer;[218] they are now naiads, rather than assorted nymphs. The description is in the imperfect rather than the present as in the *Odyssey*; Odysseus, describing his stay with Circe to the Phaeacians, assumes that Circe's household arrangements have remained the same, whereas the past tense in Apollonius reminds us that Circe is part of the heroic past as much as are the Argonauts.

The scene then conforms more closely to the conventions of welcoming scenes,[219] with the suppliants raised to their feet as a sign of acceptance (4.719).[220] Circe at last sits her visitors down, as she has wanted to do since 4.691–92.[221] The questioning of guests (4.720–23) is standard Homeric practice;[222] in the *Odyssey* Circe does not ask

---

[213] φύξιος 'of flight', (Ζεὺς Φύξιος: 2.1147 (where the scholiast says it is a Thessalian title), 4.119 (Phrixus sacrificed the fleece to him)), ἀλιτροσύνη 'wrongdoing', θυηπολίη 'sacrifice', ἐπιτμήγω 'cut', μείλικτρα 'propitiatory offerings'.

[214] ἄτρεπτος 'irreparable', λυτήριος 'expiatory', νηλητής 'guilty' (if that is the correct form; see Vian N.C. on 4.703), χύτλον 'libation', εὐμειδής 'propitious'.

[215] πελανός sacrificial food', παλαμναῖος 'murderer'.

[216] Hunter compares IT (purification of relative from family murder/warning dream) (Hunter (1987), 131 n. 17), and *Orestes* (Hunter (1988), 449–52). The sacrifice gives mystery and leads to the 'tragic scene' of recognition, cf. de la Ville de Mirmont (1894), 125–26. Purification for murder is first attested in *Aethiopis* (Σ^T ad Il. 11.690, cf. Griffin (1977), 48 and n. 55).

[217] Cf. R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford: 1983) 372.

[218] Cf. Dufner (1988), 74.

[219] Cf. Vian III, 39, n. 3.

[220] Cf. Od. 7.169, Il. 24.515 and Macleod ad loc.

[221] ἐνωπαδίς 'face to face' (4.720) is attested only in Apollonius, but ἐνωπαδίως occurs when Penelope is testing Odysseus (Od. 23.94). The situation here is similar since the two parties do not both admit to recognising the other, a member of their family.

[222] E.g. Od. 1.169–72, Od. 3.71–74; Odysseus at the Phaeacian court is not asked till Od. 8.572–86. On the significance of revealing one's name in a welcome scene, cf. A. Webber, "The Hero Tells His Name: Formula and Variation in the Phaeacian Episode of the *Odyssey*," *TAPA* 119 (1989), 1–13.

Odysseus' identity until Od. 10.325, after she has tried to bewitch him. However the climax of a Homeric scene of welcome, the revelation of the guest's identity, is never reached, and Circe does not find out who Jason is (4.745–46). At this point there are also parallels with a later part of the Homeric Circe episode, after Odysseus' return from Hades (4.719–21, 4.730, Od. 12.34–35, 4.686, Od. 12.142–43) (pp. 199–200).[223]

An important difference from Homer in this scene is the experimentation with means of communication.[224] In Homer speech, especially direct speech, is the usual means of conveying information or emotion, but Apollonius also uses silence, gestures[225] and glances or avoidance of someone else's eyes,[226] and these devices are especially prominent in this episode.[227] The most striking instance is the recognition of descendants of Helios by the gleam in their eyes; this information is withheld till 4.727–29, though it could have been introduced at 4.684, where Apollonius implies that there is nothing more than the usual sort of family resemblance between Circe and her brother. The use of eyes as a means of recognition is a particular instance of the 'Homeric' device of recognition by physical characteristics[228] but it is also related to the motif of the 'significant glance' which is found elsewhere in the *Argonautica*.

---

[223] Cf. Dufner (1988), 75–76.

[224] Cf. Händel (1954), 120. There is no direct speech till 4.739, though there are gestures (4.686–87), orders (4.687), *oratio obliqua* (4.708–9, possibly 4.713–17), and silence (4.693). Herter (1944/55), 391 notes the contrast between direct and indirect speech here. Σ ad 4.694 says that silence is required for suppliants, (cf. A. Eu. 448–50). The phrase ἄνεῳ καὶ ἄναυδοι 'silent and unable to speak' (4.693) also occurs at 3.503, 3.967. Margolies (1981), 194 contrasts Jason and Medea's partial knowledge of one another in Book 3 with their full knowledge now. In the marriage scene we are not told that Jason and Medea say anything to one another (cf. E. Phinney, "Narrative Unity," (1967), 337 and n. 33).

[225] Hands are emphasised throughout the episode (4.669, 4.687, 4.695, 4.706, 4.716 and 4.751).

[226] Homeric precedents: e.g. Il. 3.217, Il. 24.484, Il. 24.629–32, Od. 16.179, Od. 20.373.

[227] 4.682–84, 4.695, 4.697–98, 4.726–29, 4.749–50. This is also a feature of the Lemnos episode and of the encounters of Medea and Jason in Book 3: 1.784, 1.790, 1.875–76, 3.287–88, 3.444–45, 3.951–52, 3.1008, 3.1018–19, 3.1063. Elsewhere at 2.681–82, 3.22–23, 3.100–1, 3.422, 3.503, 3.886, 4.465–66, 4.1315–16.

[228] E.g. Od. 4.141–46, Eurycleia and Odysseus' scar (Od. 19.392–475). Eyes are important in the recognition of goddesses at Il. 1.199–200, 3.397; on this sign of divinity, cf. L. Bieler, *Θεῖος ἀνήρ—Das Bild des 'Göttlichen Menschen' in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (Vienna: 1935, repr. 1967) v. 1, 52–54. Kessels (1982), 163 also believes that Circe has recognised Medea and wishes to hear Colchian spoken.

However, even an apparent innovation in this area may still refer back to Homer. Medea and Circe converse in Colchian (4.731); γῆρυς 'speech' is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (and rare elsewhere), taken from a passage (Il. 4.437) concerning the multitude of languages spoken by the Trojans, differences of language being generally ignored in both Homer and Apollonius. As he breaks the usual Homeric convention that speech is always intelligible to all present, Apollonius alludes to one place where Homer himself conspicuously breaks it.[229] The conversation is reported in indirect speech, putting the reader in the same position as Jason in not being able to follow word for word what is being said (as would be possible in Homer); however, unlike Jason, the reader knows the content of the speeches.[230]

Circe has considerable powers of intuition (4.698–99, 4.737), though she cannot guess Jason's identity (4.745–46). Although Medea does not mention the murder, Circe knows what has happened (4.736–37, 4.741–42), having realised the truth when she recognised her niece and heard her story (4.732–36). There is no need to presume that she has supernatural knowledge; in this she resembles Homer's Circe, and differs from Phineus.

Like Apollonius', Homer's Circe receives her visitors without at first knowing their identity; but she shows no interest in hearing about their previous adventures and her only emotional reaction to them is awed admiration of their visit to Hades (Od. 12.21–22). She does not have to deal with kinsfolk, elopement or murder, and so Apollonius' Circe can respond in a different way to Jason and Medea without being inconsistent in character with Homer's.

Circe's reaction to Jason and Medea is complex. She does not completely reject them; she has been anxious to hear Medea's voice (4.725; perhaps the Colchian language of 4.731 which she would not have heard since emigrating), and pities her (4.738). Though she offers no further help, she promises not to harm them (4.744). The reasons for this restraint affirm Circe's double relationship to Medea as purifier

[229] Hunter (1987), 138 observes that the different language shows Circe's 'Colchian view' of Medea's actions. Cf. J. Werner, "Κολχίδα γῆρυν ἱεῖσα—Ein Beitrag zum Thema: nichtgriechische Sprachen im Bewusstsein der antiken Griechen," in *Kavkaz i Sredizemnomor'ye* eds. R. Gordesiani and A. Uruschadse (Tbilisi: 1980) 215–22, esp. 217–19, on rare literary references to languages other than Greek; on different languages in the *Iliad*, cf. Taplin (1992), 113.

[230] Apollonius experiments with indirect speech elsewhere; e.g. 3.576–608. Cf. Couat (1931), 340–41, Ibscher (1939), 125, 177–80, Herter (1944/55), 260–61, Hutchinson (1988), 91–92, Hunter (1993), 143–48.

and kinswoman (ἱκέτις καὶ ὁμόγνιος 4.743). The tone of Circe's speech is reminiscent of Aeolus' (Od. 10.72–75) and also of a speech by her brother Aeetes at 3.372–81, in which he too sends the Argonauts away and admits that a duty he has performed for them prevents him from harming them. Homer's Circe begins a speech σχέτλιοι 'bold men!' (Od. 12.21, cf. 4.739) but expressing wonder, not indignation. The speech at 4.739–48, like many in Homer, exhibits 'ring-composition' with ἀεικέα . . . νόστον 'shameful journey' in 4.739 picked up by ἀεικέα φύξιν 'shameful flight' in 4.748, and the idea of μήσαο 'you planned' (4.739) repeated in βουλάς 'plans' (4.748).[231] Circe's kinship to Medea would make the calm detachment of her behaviour in Homer inappropriate. Her angry rejection of her niece further weakens the links between Medea and Colchis, which are to be broken completely on Drepane.

In a final parallel to the *Odyssey*, the tears shed by Medea as she leaves (4.750) recall those of Odysseus' men as they depart for Hades (Od. 10.566–68). Apollonius makes details of Medea's and Jason's departure from Circe's house mirror their arrival.[232]

Homer's Circe told Odysseus at length about the dangers ahead and how to face them (Od. 12.37–110). In Apollonius, Circe does not do so; this function is confined to Phineus in Book 2, as we have already seen. She nevertheless performs the ritual which is required before they can complete their voyage (4.557–61), thus enabling them to achieve their *nostos*. The Argonauts are also warned about what lies ahead while they are on Circe's island, since Hera tells Thetis to help the ship (4.822–32) and Thetis tells Peleus that the Nereids will protect her (4.856–64). However, the only danger she mentions is the Wandering Rocks and her main concern is not to inform Peleus of impending danger (a danger which he can do little to avert) but to tell him not to embarrass and anger her by pointing her out; this contrasts with Circe's detailed description of Odysseus' route and practical advice about the difficulties ahead. Again, the emotionally

[231] More symmetry: the speech begins and ends with Circe's disapproval (4.739, 4.747–48), and two references to Aeetes (4.740–42, 4.745–46) flank the central assertion that Circe will do Medea no harm and her reasons (4.743–44).

[232] Medea hides her face (4.749–50: for the gesture, cf. Od. 4.115–16) as she did when she arrived (4.695), but now in personal grief rather than out of guilt. Jason takes the initiative (4.689, 4.750–52). Medea's hands are mentioned at 4.695 and 4.751. Medea is not named at 4.689; Jason is simply ἥρως 'the hero' (4.750), perhaps because the scene is focalised from Circe's viewpoint and she does not know Jason's identity.

neutral behaviour of Homer's Circe is replaced by an encounter in which feelings of estrangement are given the greatest emphasis. The intervention of Thetis at Hera's instigation owes far more to the *Iliad* than to the *Odyssey*, and in particular to *Iliad* 24, a book to which allusions have been seen in the Odyssean Circe episode.[233] The echoes of the final book of the *Iliad* may be a way of reproducing these similarities in the two Homeric epics.

In Homer we never forget that Circe is a goddess, despite her intimate relationship with Odysseus. Her divinity is ignored in Apollonius, and her authority is diminished, as neither of the first two instructions she gives is successful. While she retains her entourage of strange animals and Naiad maids, she does not attempt to practise witchcraft on the Argonauts (despite the possibilities raised at 4.667 and 4.744). The expiation she performs is not magical but a ceremony in accordance with Greek ritual.[234] She lives in a place which is precisely located on the map and has nothing supernatural to do; even her knowledge of what she is not told can be attributed to intuition.

Circe is given new ways to behave in the light of the new situation in which she is placed. This un-Homeric behaviour is determined by her family connexion to Medea and her duty to purify the suppliants. The kindness and malice in her nature which are hinted at in the *Odyssey* are shown in her hospitality and rejection, but her motives are more human than those of the inscrutable Homeric Circe.[235]

In two places in the episode 'metaliterary' expressions indicate that Apollonius is not the first poet to mention Circe. The harbour is κλυτός 'renowned' (4.661) as harbours are in Homer (Od. 10.87, Od. 15.472), but not usually in Apollonius;[236] Circe's home is not well known, at least not in Iolcus (3.1092–93). It is κλυτός because it has already been celebrated in poetry by Homer; the adjective refers to the reader's situation, not to that of characters in the poem. A little later, Circe's drugs are qualified as 'those with which she

---

[233] Cf. pp. 297–300, G. Beck, "Beobachtungen zur Kirke-Episode in der Odyssee," *Philologus* 109 (1965), 1–29, Crane (1988), 38–40, Usener (1990), 171–75.

[234] Cf. Parker (1983), app. 6 (pp. 370–74). This is our most precise description of Greek purificatory ritual; only here are those purified rejected. On the un-Homeric power of Circe to purify, cf. Hatzantonis (1976), 15–16; this power was, however, not very restricted.

[235] S. Natzel, *Κλέα γυναικῶν: Frauen in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (Trier: 1992), 159–60, sees Apollonius' Circe as a guardian of family values.

[236] κλυτός is used of υἱός 'son' or παῖς 'child' (not Homeric), ὄνομα 'name', or, more strikingly, πείρατα 'ends' (cf. Hunter (1993), 122).

bewitched men before' (4.666–67; she does not try to bewitch the Argonauts),[237] rather than 'those with which she usually bewitched men'. πάρος 'before' refers to literary rather than mythological time; it means 'in earlier poems', in other words, the *Odyssey*, where Circe transformed Odysseus' men (Od. 10.234–40). Apollonius' choice of ἀνέρας 'men' (rather than ἀνθρώπους 'people') may also allude specifically to Circe's dealings with Odysseus' exclusively male crew. These two words thus stand out from their context, reminding the reader that Apollonius' poem is not the only one to deal with Circe. Like the *aitia*, they link the myth to the contemporary world of the reader, but, unlike them, they make us aware of the poem's status as a work of literature and as part of a tradition. πάρος also indicates that Apollonius has chosen not to have Circe exercise the magic which she used in Homer; it does so in a way that a simple allusion to Circe's bewitching of Odysseus' men could not.

As was shown above, Medea's character and actions in Book 3 draw on those of the Homeric Circe. In her use of magic Medea is more like Homer's Circe than Circe is, and so some of the epithets of Homer's Circe are transferred to her (cf. p. 181). Now Medea is brought face to face with one of her models; they are not only mythological but also literary kinswomen. The language they share (4.731) is one way of showing their close relationship.

The episode is enriched by details taken specifically from the Homeric Circe episode such as Circe's animals and maids (which are altered in each case), and also by 'typical scenes' which occur during the episode, such as welcome and supplication; these similarities are further enhanced by numerous verbal parallels. These Homeric features are fitted into a narrative which proceeds very differently from its Odyssean counterpart and which includes some typically Apollonian experimentation and breaking of conventions. This combination of allusion and innovation acts as a paradigm for the scenes which follow.

1.653 Λημνιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἀνὰ πτόλιν ἷζον <u>ἰοῦσαι</u>
εἰς ἀγορήν· αὐτὴ <u>γὰρ</u> <u>ἐπέφραδεν</u> Ὑψιπύλεια.

(The Lemnian women came through the city and sat down in assembly as Hypsipyle their queen had instructed.)

Od. 10.549 (Odysseus) ἀλλ' <u>ἴομεν</u>· δὴ <u>γάρ</u> μοι <u>ἐπέφραδε</u> πότνια Κίρκη.

('It is time to go—Lady Circe has shown me.')

---

[237] θέλγω 'bewitch' is a verb characteristic of Homer's Circe; cf. Od. 10.213, Od. 10.291, Od. 10.318.

1.788 ἔνθα μιν Ἰφινόη κλισμῷ ἐνὶ παμφανόωντι
ἐσσυμένως καλῆς διὰ παστάδος εἷσεν ἄγουσα. . . .
(Iphione led him quickly through a beautiful porch and bade him sit on a bright couch. . . .)
Od. 10.233 εἷσεν δ' εἰσαγαγοῦσα κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε. . . .
('The goddess ushered them in, gave them all seats, high or low. . . .')
Od. 10.314 εἷσε δέ μ' εἰσαγαγοῦσα ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου. . . .
('She ushered me in and gave me a tall silver-studded chair to sit in. . . .')

1.735 ἐν δ' ἔσαν Ἀντιόπης Ἀσωπίδος υἱέε δοιώ,
Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζῆθος. ἀπύργωτος δ' ἔτι Θήβη
κεῖτο πέλας. . . .
(Upon it were Amphion and Zethus, the two sons of Asopus' daughter Antiope. Beside them lay Thebes, still without its towers. . . .)
Od. 11.260 τὴν δὲ μέτ' Ἀντιόπην ἴδον, Ἀσωποῖο θύγατρα. . . .
262 καί ῥ' ἔτεκεν δύο παῖδ', Ἀμφίονά τε Ζῆθόν τε,
οἳ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἕδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο
πύργωσάν τ', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτόν γ' ἐδύναντο
ναιέμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην, κρατερώ περ ἐόντε.
('After her I saw Antiope, daughter of Asopus. . . . She bore two sons, Amphion and Zethus, primal founders of Thebes of the seven gates; they added walls to the spacious city because without them they could not hold it as their dwelling, strong though they were.')

1.759 ἐν καὶ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος ὀϊστεύων ἐτέτυκτο,
βούπαις, οὔ πω πολλός, ἐὴν ἐρύοντα καλύπτρης
μητέρα θαρσαλέως Τιτυὸν μέγαν, ὅν ῥ' ἔτεκέν γε
δῖ' Ἐλάρη, θρέψεν δὲ καὶ ἂψ ἐλοχεύσατο Γαῖα.
(Upon it was the design of Phoebus Apollo, a large boy, not yet full-grown. He was shooting an arrow at the giant Tityus who was reckless enough to try to drag off the god's mother by her veil. Tityus was the child of noble Elara, but Earth had nourished him and brought him to the light again.)
Od. 11.576 καὶ Τιτυὸν εἶδον, Γαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν. . . .
('I saw Tityus also, son of the mighty goddess Earth.')
580 Λητὼ γὰρ ἕλκησε, Διὸς κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν. . . .
(And this was because he had once assaulted a mistress of Zeus himself, the far-famed Leto. . . .)

2.319 τάων οὔ τινά φημι διαμπερὲς ἐξαλέασθαι. . . .
321 ἀλλὰ θαμὰ ξυνίασιν ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλῃσιν
εἰς ἕν, ὕπερθε δὲ πολλὸν ἁλὸς κορθύεται ὕδωρ. . . .
('I tell you that no one has ever succeeded in passing through them. . . . but [they] clash together constantly, and above them a great mass of sea-water seethes. . . .')
Od. 12.66 τῇ δ' οὔ πώ τις νηῦς φύγεν ἀνδρῶν, ἥ τις ἵκηται,
ἀλλά θ' ὁμοῦ πίνακάς τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν
κύμαθ' ἁλὸς φορέουσι πυρός τ' ὀλοοῖο θύελλαι.

('Nor has any ship carrying men ever come there and gone its way in safety; the ship's timbers, the crew's dead bodies are carried away by the sea waves and by blasts of deadly fire.')

3.200 Κίρκαιον τό γε δὴ κικλήσκεται· ἔνθα δὲ πολλαὶ
ἑξείης πρόμαλοί τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἐμπεφύασι,
τῶν καὶ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτων νέκυες σειρῇσι κρέμανται
δέσμιοι.

(This area is called the Plain of Circe. Here rows of elms and willows grow in profusion, and from their topmost branches corpses are hung by ropes.)

Od. 10.510 μακραί τ' αἴγειροι καὶ ἰτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι....

('... the tall black poplars, the willows with their self-wasted fruit....')

529 ἔνθα δὲ πολλαὶ
ψυχαὶ ἐλεύσονται νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων....

('At this, the souls of the dead and gone will come flocking there....')

3.845 φάρμακον ὅ ῥά τέ φασι Προμήθειον καλέεσθαι.

(... a drug which men say is called 'the drug of Prometheus'.)

854 τοῦ δ' ἤτοι ἄνθος μὲν ὅσον πήχυιον ὕπερθεν
χροιῇ Κωρυκίῳ ἴκελον κρόκῳ ἐξεφαάνθη,
καυλοῖσιν διδύμοισιν ἐπήορον· ἡ δ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ
σαρκὶ νεοτμήτῳ εναλιγκίη ἔπλετο ῥίζα.

(Its flower rises on twin stalks a cubit high; in colour it resembles the Corycian crocus, and the root in the earth is like newly-cut flesh.)

Od. 10.304 ῥίζῃ μὲν μέλαν ἔσκε, γάλακτι δὲ εἴκελον ἄνθος·
μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί·

('... its root was black, its flower milk-white. Its name among the gods is *moly*.')

3.1042 ἦρι δὲ μυδήνας τόδε φάρμακον....

('In the morning soak this drug....')

Od. 10.287 ... τόδε φάρμακον ἐσθλὸν ἔχων ἐς δώματα Κίρκης
ἔρχευ....'

('Here is a herb of magic virtue; take it and enter Circe's house with it.')

3.883 ἀμφὶ δὲ θῆρες
κνυζηθμῷ σαίνουσιν ὑποτρομέοντες ἰοῦσαν·

(... around her the wild beasts whimper and fawn in fear.)

Od. 10.212 ἀμφὶ δὲ μιν λύκοι ἦσαν ὀρέστεροι ἠδὲ λέοντες....
214 οὐδ' οἵ γ' ὁρμήθησαν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἄρα τοί γε
οὐρῇσιν μακρῇσι περισσαίνοντες ἀνέσταν.

('Outside, there were lions and mountain wolves.... The beasts did not set upon my men; they reared up, instead, and fawned on them with their long tails.')

3.1032 βόθρον ὀρύξασθαι περιηγέα· τῷ δ' ἐνὶ θῆλυν
ἀρνειὸν σφάζειν καὶ ἀδαίετον ὠμοθετῆσαι
αὐτῷ πυρκαϊὴν εὖ νηήσας ἐπὶ βόθρῳ. . . .
1038 ἂψ ἀπὸ πυρκαϊῆς ἀναχάζεο· . . .
('. . . dig a circular pit. Over it slit the throat of a female sheep and burn it whole, heaping high a pyre on the very edge of the pit. . . . then retreat back from the pyre.')
3.1207 πήχυιον δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα πέδῳ ἔνι βόθρον ὀρύξας,
(After this he dug a trench a cubit long in the earth. . . .)
Od. 10.517 βόθρον ὀρύξαι ὅσον τε πυγούσιον[238] ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ χοὴν χεῖσθαι πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι. . . .
('. . . dig a trench a cubit long and a cubit broad; go round this trench, pouring libation for all the dead. . . .')
Od. 10.527 ἔνθ' ὄϊν ἀρνειὸν ῥέζειν θῆλύν τε μέλαιναν
εἰς Ἔρεβος στρέψας, αὐτὸς δ' ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι. . . .
('. . . then you must sacrifice a ram and a black ewe; bend the victims' heads down towards Erebus, but turn your own head away. . . .')

3.311 . . . ἐκ δ' ἱκόμεσθα
ἀκτὴν ἠπείρου Τυρσηνίδος, ἔνθ' ἔτι νῦν περ
ναιετάει, μάλα πολλὸν ἀπόπροθι Κολχίδος Αἴης· . . .
('We reached the Tyrrhenian coast where she lives to this day, very far indeed from Colchian Aea.')
4.659 . . . διὲξ ἁλὸς οἶδμα νέοντο
Αὐσονίης ἀκτὰς Τυρσηνίδας εἰσορόωντες·
ἷξον δ' Αἰαίης λιμένα κλυτόν. . . .
(. . . they passed over the swell of the Ausonian sea, their gaze fixed on the coasts of Tyrrhenia. They reached the famed harbour of Aeaea. . . .)
4.849 . . . ἔστ' ἀφίκανεν
ἀκτὴν Αἰαίην Τυρσηνίδος ἠπείροιο.
(. . . until she reached the Aeaean shore of the Tyrrhenian mainland.)
856 (Thetis) μηκέτι νῦν ἀκταῖς Τυρσηνίσιν ἧσθε μένοντες. . . .
('No longer remain sitting on the Tyrrhenian shore. . . .')

4.719 εἷσεν ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσιν ἀναστήσασα θρόνοισιν,
καὶ δ' αὐτὴ πέλας ἷζεν ἐνωπαδίς· αἶψα δὲ μύθῳ
χρειὼ ναυτιλίην τε διακριδὸν ἐξερέεινεν. . . .
([Circe] sat them on polished chairs and herself sat near by facing them. At once she asked them in detail about the reason for their voyage. . . .)
730 ἡ δ' ἄρα τῇ τὰ ἕκαστα διειρομένῃ κατέλεξε,
(In reply to [Circe's] detailed questions [Medea] gave a full . . . response.)
Od. 12.34 εἷσέ τε καὶ προσέλεκτο καὶ ἐξερέεινεν ἕκαστα·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τῇ πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν κατέλεξα.

---

238 Cf. Σ ad loc., which defines this word as πηχυαῖον 'a cubit long'.

('[Circe] made me sit down; . . . she lay down near me and questioned me about everything, and I told her all from first to last.')

4.686 αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἄψορρον ἀπέστιχε· . . .

(. . . [Circe] immediately went back towards her house. . . .)

Od. 12.142 . . . αὐτίκα δὲ χρυσόθρονος ἤλυθεν Ἠώς.
ἡ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀνὰ νῆσον ἀπέστιχε δῖα θεάων·

('. . . when Dawn appeared in her flowery cloth of gold. Then queenly Circe took her way back across the island. . . .')

9. *The Sirens*

Relevant quotations from the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica* may be found on pp. 205–6.

Though there is no secure evidence that the Sirens were transferred to the *Odyssey* from the Argo legend, their position between Circe and the Wandering Rocks, whose Argonautic credentials are stronger, suggests that they originally belonged in it.[239] In the fifth century, in one of the earliest traceable attempts at fixing the Argonauts' route, Herodorus apparently made them pass the Sirens,[240] and attempts to locate the Sirens regularly sited them off the west coast of Italy.[241]

The description of the passing of the Sirens in Apollonius conflates two passages in Homer, both in *Odyssey* 12: Circe's instructions to Odysseus on how to pass them safely and his actual journey past their island. In Homer the reader is not told the Sirens' history,[242] but only about their fatal song, and a brief description of their island is mostly concerned with the pile of bodies of former visitors (Od. 12.45–46). Even this description appears in Circe's speech and does not break up the account of Odysseus' passage. By contrast, in Apollonius there is description of the island, and an excursus on the Sirens' ancestry and their life as companions of Persephone before their metamorphosis (4.892–902) together with references to their present activities and the effect they have had on those who have

---

[239] Cf. Meuli (1921), 91–94, Merkelbach (1969), 204, but doubted by Dufner (1988), 26–32.

[240] Herodor. 31 F 43 = Σ ad 1.23–25a and 31–34a; cf. Delage, *Géographie*, 64. A fourth-century terracotta group from Tarentum shows Orpheus with two Sirens; cf. M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford: 1983) 25, 32 and plate 4.

[241] [Arist.] Mir. 103, Stephanus s.v. Σειρηνοῦσ(σ)αι, Str. 5.4.8.

[242] Cf. G. K. Gresseth, "The Homeric Sirens," *TAPA* 101 (1970), 211.

sailed to their island.[243] The biographical details are not found in Homer; here, as often, Apollonius enjoys introducing additional 'background' material. Another typically Apollonian feature is the description of the Sirens' appearance, which is left to the audience's imagination in the *Odyssey*; in the *Argonautica* the Sirens are half woman, half bird as in vase paintings,[244] but they are not said to fly around the ship as they often do in art. They are now unspecified in number rather than being two (Od. 12.52, Od. 12.167).[245] Apollonius gives the island a name, Anthemoessa, which is taken from Hesiod and not found in Homer (Σ ad 892 = Hes. fr. 27), although it does also recall ἀνθεμόεντα 'flowery' (Od. 12.159).[246] He assumes no knowledge of the Sirens from Homer, but speaks of both their irresistability (4.894) and the fate of previous visitors, less graphically than Homer does (4.901–2). Apollonius' repetition of Homeric information in different words reminds the reader of Odysseus' experience, but its completeness asserts his independence, even when dealing with Odyssean material. Apollonius' account could be read independently of Homer and would still convey the nature of the danger presented by the Sirens.

All these details, like the description of Circe's dream and of her animals in the previous episode, bring the flow of the narrative to a halt. The information bridges the gap between the Argonauts' seeing the Sirens and the Sirens' singing to them; there is a smooth transition from the fate of previous visitors to the Sirens' attempt to inflict the same fate on the Argonauts (4.901–3). Apollonius does not always go into such detail in the 'Odyssean' series of adventures (for example, Scylla and Charybdis are passed over briefly);[247] here he

[243] The interest in metamorphosis is typically Hellenistic (though the earliest datable works on the subject, by Eratosthenes and Nicander, are slightly later than the generally accepted date of Apollonius). The Sirens' bird shape (first attested in literature at E. Hel. 167) is connected with their former occupation as companions of Persephone; either it is a punishment for not protecting her (Hyg. Fab. 141), or they request it so that they may search for her (Ov., Met. 5.552–63). Cf. Phillips (1953), 59 n. 49.

[244] On Apollonius' love of visual detail, cf. Newman (1986), 74–83, Zanker (1987), 65–79. The influence on this part of the *Argonautica* of post-Homeric artistic representations of Odyssean scenes resembles the description of Circe's animals. Cf. Σ ad Od. 12.39, E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley: 1979), 201–3. On Sirens in monumental art, cf. E. Kaiser, "Odyssee-Szenen als Topoi," *MH* 21 (1964), 111–12.

[245] Cf. Dufner (1988), 86–87.

[246] On the allusion to two poets here, cf. Dufner (1988), 83.

[247] Händel (1954), 123 attributes the lack of detail in Homer to the fact that

takes over the function of Circe in describing the Sirens (indeed in the completeness of his knowledge he resembles the Sirens themselves) and we have to wait until he has finished giving background information before we can learn how the Argonauts fare in their turn. The extra details add interest by expanding on what Homer tells us and show that the poet is not limited to what he has read in the *Odyssey* in what he can say.

The Argonauts, unlike Odysseus, do not know about the Sirens before they encounter them.[248] Orpheus improvises the method for passing them safely, drowning them out by playing his lyre and singing loudly. The wind helps Orpheus (4.891, 4.910) whereas in the *Odyssey* there was γαλήνη ... νηνεμίη 'windless calm' (Od. 12.168–69).[249] Some features of the narrative are similar to Homer's account; at least one person in the ship can hear the Sirens but others act to prevent them from responding (Orpheus plays his lyre, Perimedes and Eurylochus pile on more chains). Though there is no wax in the *Argonautica*, vocabulary describing the wax with which Odysseus plugs his companions' ears is used or adapted; τροχόν 'disc' (Od. 12.173) becomes εὐτροχάλοιο 'flowing' (4.907),[250] ἰαίνετο 'melted' (Od. 12.175) becomes ἰανθείς (4.914) and μελιηδέα 'honey-sweet' (4.901) is taken from Od. 12.48.

Although we are told the words of the song which the Sirens sing to Odysseus (Od. 12.184–91), nothing is quoted of the one sung to the Argonauts and the reader does not find out whether they claim knowledge of the Argonauts' past adventures. The Argonauts are in the same position as the reader in being unable to hear the song's exact words,[251] but nevertheless they are affected by the song to the

---

Odysseus and not the narrator is telling the story, though Odysseus (reporting Circe) supplies background information about the daughters of Helios (Od. 12.131–36), similar to that which Apollonius gives about the Sirens.

[248] According to Herodorus, before the expedition set out, Chiron advised Jason to use Orpheus to counteract the Sirens' influence (Σ ad 1.23–25a, 1.31–34a) but there is no reference to this in the text. If the device of Orpheus here is *ad hoc*, it contrasts with the careful preparations of Odysseus. On this and other ellipses, cf. Händel (1954), 122.

[249] Cf. Hutchinson (1988), 102–3.

[250] εὐτροχάλοιο used of Orpheus' song in 4.907 alludes to the τροχόν 'disc' of wax in Od. 12.173 (cf. T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (London: 1964), 75–76); like the wax, Orpheus 'blocks out' the Sirens' song from the ears of the sailors. εὐτρόχαλος means literally 'well-rounded' (as at 3.135) and is first attested here in a metaphorical sense.

[251] On this parallel between the Argonauts and the reader, cf. Goldhill (1991), 299.

extent that they are about to put in (4.903–4). The Sirens are not quite as invincible as Homer implies they are, since the Argonauts can hear them briefly and (with one exception) resist them, even if they were about to give in when Orpheus starts to play. Typically, there is a digression at the end of the episode on the fate of the Athenian Boutes (4.912–19). As in Homer, one person is captivated by the Sirens' song but does not suffer the fate of previous visitors.

Apollonius places θέλγουσαι 'bewitching' prominently (4.894), using an important word from the Homeric account (Od. 12.40, Od. 12.44).[252] In Homer the Sirens' song is a λιγυρὴ ἀοιδή 'clear song' (Od. 12.44, Od. 12.183), and κάλλιμον 'beautiful' (Od. 12.192). In Apollonius it is λιγυρή at 4.914 and λείριον at 4.903. λείριος, a word of uncertain meaning, is a variant of λειριόεις, which qualifies ὄπα 'voice', as here, in Homer (Il. 3.152) and Hesiod (Th. 41); the latter passage refers to the Sirens' relatives, the Muses.[253] When the Sirens are audible, ὄψ 'voice' (4.903, 4.914, used of music at Il. 1.604, Od. 10.221) and μολπή 'song' (4.894) are used of their song, while when their song is indistinct Apollonius employs the less musical αὐδή 'noise' (4.911) and ἐνοπή 'cry' (4.909).

The discord is reflected in the choice of vocabulary. The conflict of the Sirens' music with Orpheus' is described in words or usages which are attested mainly from comedy (ἀκουή 'ear', κρεγμός 'clatter') and by a possible neologism, ἐπιβρομέω 'roar' (4.908–9),[254] which contrasts with the more conventionally epic vocabulary used of the song itself. Another feature of style in this episode which draws it closer to its Homeric model is the frequent use of epithets (twenty-three appear in 4.885–916). This may reflect the style of lyric poetry, and be an attempt to 'imitate' the Sirens' song without actually quoting it. Another new element is the sexual overtones in the contest. The Sirens were sometimes allegorised as beautiful women, particularly

---

[252] On the implications of this verb in Homer's episode of the Sirens, cf. Pucci (1987), 209–13.

[253] The passage dealing with the Muses in the *Theogony* may have some influence on the Sirens in Apollonius, but the resemblances (αὐδή 4.911/Th. 39, ἡδεῖα 'sweet' 4.893/Th. 40, ἵημι 'utter' 4.903, 4.911/Th. 43) are minor. On λείριος, cf. R. B. Egan, "λειριόεις κτλ. in Homer and Elsewhere," *Glotta* 63 (1985), 14–24, E. Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto: 1974) 205–13, and (as an 'iconym') M. S. Silk, "LSJ and the Problem of Poetic Archaism: from Meanings to Iconyms," *CQ* n.s. 33 (1983), 319–20.

[254] For ἀκουή cf. Sappho fr. 2.12 L-P, Hermipp. fr. 52, Pherecr. fr. 199, for κρεγμός cf. Epich. fr. 109. ἐπιβρομέω is used also at 3.1371 (of the sea) and 4.240 (of sea-birds), both in similes.

in comedy,[255] and this may be recalled in the conjunction of παρθενίην ... ἐβιήσατο 'overpowered ... virgin [voices]' (4.909), with its hint at rape, though the rest of the line makes it clear that only the Sirens' *song* is overcome;[256] the erotic colouring is enhanced by the use of ἐπιβρομέω with its echo of Sappho.[257] However, the only 'rape' in the scene is Aphrodite's timely abduction of Boutes (4.917–19).

The only part of the Homeric episode which is not used is its very heart, the words of the song sung by the Sirens. These appear later, transformed into the words of the goddesses of Libya (4.1319–21, Od. 12.189–91) (p. 206).[258] The goddesses' aim is the reverse of that of the Sirens; instead of trying to detain Jason they want to help him to leave! As in Homer, it is only the leader of the party who hears the goddesses and then wishes to act on what they say. Elsewhere, the Sirens are also alluded to in a part of the poem with strong Odyssean associations, as they are recalled by the Harpies in Book 2; the Harpies' appearance precedes the passage of the other set of dangerous rocks, the Symplegades, and they persecute the Circe-like Phineus.[259]

Apollonius builds on the Homeric episode by adding new details concerning the Sirens while retaining similarities in narrative structure; he also uses vocabulary from it, though it is sometimes transferred to new contexts, as happens with the words which describe the wax in Homer. The overall impression given by this episode when it is compared with its counterpart in Homer is that Apollonius has replaced the sinister tone of his model (seen in the calm sea and the gruesome description of the fate of Odysseus' predecessors) with a more humorous treatment. Orpheus has to aim for volume rather than more musical qualities in his playing and singing and the resulting cacophony is described in words which come from comedy. The ineffectuality of the Sirens in being unable to make themselves

---

[255] Cf. Kaiser (1964), 121–23, and Σ^B ad Od. 12.39.

[256] The theme of rape has been suggested already in the Sirens' attendance on Persephone (4.896–98) and in the strong word ἀδμῆτ'(α) (literally 'untamed') for her virginal state. The flowery meadow (Od. 12.159) is a common setting for rape; cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 61.

[257] On the allusion to Sappho fr. 31 L-P, cf. Goldhill (1991), 299–300.

[258] Unlike the Sirens, the goddesses know about the voyage as well as events on land and also claim knowledge specifically about the Argonauts. On this allusion, cf. Feeney (1991), 92, Hunter (1993), 126. For the use of Odyssean travels in the Libyan episode, cf. pp. 123–27.

[259] Cf. Nelis (1988), 177–79.

heard above Orpheus contrasts with their compelling power and wide knowledge in the *Odyssey*, (demonstrated in their song to Odysseus); they fade out of the narrative letting out ἄκριτον . . . αὐδήν 'an indistinct sound' (4.911) as Apollonius moves on to the story of Boutes.

4.888 . . . ἄλλα τε πάντα
ἄρμενα μηρύοντο κατὰ χρέος· ὕψι δὲ λαῖφος
εἴρυσσαν τανύσαντες ἐν ἱμάντεσσι κεραίης.
νῆα δ' εὐκραὴς ἄνεμος φέρεν· αἶψα δὲ νῆσον
καλὴν Ἀνθεμόεσσαν ἐσέδρακον, ἔνθα λίγειαι
Σειρῆνες σίνοντ' Ἀχελωίδες ἡδείῃσι
θέλγουσαι μολπῇσιν ὅ τις παρὰ πεῖσμα βάλοιτο. . . .
αἰεὶ δ' εὐόρμου δεδοκημέναι ἐκ περιωπῆς
ἦ θαμὰ δὴ πολέων μελιηδέα νόστον ἕλοντο,
τηκεδόνι φθινύθουσαι. ἀπηλεγέως δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῖς
ἵεσαν ἐκ στομάτων ὄπα λείριον· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηὸς
ἤδη πείσματ' ἔμελλον ἐπ' ἠιόνεσσι βαλέσθαι,
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' Οἰάγροιο πάϊς Θρηίκιος Ὀρφεύς,
Βιστονίην ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἑαῖς φόρμιγγα τανύσσας,
κραιπνὸν ἐϋτροχάλοιο μέλος κανάχησεν ἀοιδῆς,
ὄφρ' ἄμυδις κλονέοντος ἐπιβρομέωνται ἀκουαὶ
κρεγμῷ· παρθενίην δ' ἐνοπὴν ἐβιήσατο φόρμιγξ.
νῆα δ' ὁμοῦ Ζέφυρός τε καὶ ἠχῆεν φέρε κῦμα
πρυμνόθεν ὀρνύμενον· ταὶ δ' ἄκριτον ἵεσαν αὐδήν.

(. . . they made ready all the rest of the tackle in its proper place, and hauled up high the sail which was held tight by the ropes from the yard. A moderate wind carried the ship forward, and soon they saw the lovely island of Anthemoessa where the clear-voiced Sirens, daughters of Achelous, destroyed all who moored beside them with the enchantment of their sweet songs. . . . They kept a constant look-out from their perch in the lovely harbour: many indeed were the men whom they had deprived of their sweet return, destroying them with wasting desire. For the Argonauts too they opened their mouths in pure liquid song as soon as they saw them. The men made ready to throw the ship's cables to the shore, and would have done so, had not Thracian Orpheus, the son of Oeagrus, taken up his Bistonian lyre in his hands and played a fast rendition of a quick-rolling tune. . . .)

Od. 12.37 . . . σὺ δ' ἄκουσον,
ὥς τοι ἐγὼν ἐρέω, μνήσει δέ σε καὶ θεὸς αὐτός.
Σειρῆνας μὲν πρῶτον ἀφίξεαι, αἵ ῥά τε πάντας
ἀνθρώπους θέλγουσιν, ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκηται.
ὅς τις ἀϊδρείῃ πελάσῃ καὶ φθόγγον ἀκούσῃ
Σειρήνων, τῷ δ' οὔ τι γυνὴ καὶ νήπια τέκνα
οἴκαδε νοστήσαντι παρίσταται οὐδὲ γάνυνται,
ἀλλά τε Σειρῆνες λιγυρῇ θέλγουσιν ἀοιδῇ. . . .

('. . . but listen now to my further words—later, without your seeking it, some god will recall them to your mind. You will come to the Sirens first

of all; they bewitch any mortal who approaches them. If a man in ignorance draws too close and catches their music, he will never return to find wife and little children near him and to see their joy at his homecoming. . . .')

Od. 12.158 Σειρήνων μὲν πρῶτον ἀνώγει θεσπεσιάων
φθόγγον ἀλεύασθαι καὶ λειμῶν' ἀνθεμόεντα. . . .
165 ἦ τοι ἐγὼ τὰ ἕκαστα λέγων ἑτάροισι πίφαυσκον·
τόφρα δὲ καρπαλίμως ἐξίκετο νηῦς εὐεργὴς
νῆσον Σειρήνοιϊν· ἔπειγε γὰρ οὖρος ἀπήμων.
αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἄνεμος μὲν ἐπαύσατο ἠδὲ γαλήνη
ἔπλετο νηνεμίη, κοίμησε δὲ κύματα δαίμων.
ἀνστάντες δ' ἕταροι νεὸς ἱστία μηρύσαντο,
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν νηῒ γλαφυρῇ βάλον, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἐρετμὰ
ἑζόμενοι λεύκαινον ὕδωρ ξεστῇς ἐλάτῃσιν.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κηροῖο μέγαν τροχὸν ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ
τυτθὰ διατμήξας χερσὶ στιβαρῇσι πίεζον. . . .

('Her first command was to shun the Sirens—their enchanting notes, their flowery meadow. . . . Thus I told my comrades and made things plain, point by point. Meanwhile the trim ship sped swiftly on to the island of the Sirens, wafted still by the favouring breeze. Then of a sudden the wind dropped and everything became hushed and still, because some divinity lulled the waters. My men stood up, furled the sails and stowed them in the ship's hold, then sat at the thwarts and make the sea white with their polished oars of fir. I myself, with my sharp sword, cut a great round of wax into little pieces and set about kneading them with all the strength I had.')

Od. 12.187 πρίν γ' ἡμέων μελίγηρυν ἀπὸ στομάτων ὄπ' ἀκοῦσαι· . . .
192 ὣς φάσαν ἱεῖσαι ὄπα κάλλιμον. . . .

('. . . before hearing the honey-sweet music from our lips. . . .' So they sang with their lovely voices.)

4.1319 ἴδμεν ἐποιχομένους χρύσεον δέρος· ἴδμεν ἕκαστα
ὑμετέρων καμάτων, ὅσ' ἐπὶ χθονὸς ὅσσα τ' ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
πλαζόμενοι κατὰ πόντον ὑπέρβια ἔργα κάμεσθε. . . .

('We know that you and your comrades went to gain the golden fleece; we know every detail of all your sufferings, all the extraordinary things you have endured on land and sea in your wanderings over the ocean.')

Od. 12.189 ἴδμεν γάρ τοι πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ
Ἀργεῖοι Τρῶές τε θεῶν ἰότητι μόγησαν·
ἴδμεν δ' ὅσσα γένηται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ.

('We know of all the sorrows in the wide land of Troy that Argives and Trojans bore because the gods would needs have it so; we know of all things that come to pass on the fruitful earth.')

10. *Scylla and Charybdis*

Homer's and Apollonius' accounts are quoted on pp. 209–10.

As in the *Odyssey*, some of the dangers which lie ahead of the heroes are described first in a speech giving instructions on how to survive them. In the *Argonautica*, the speech confines itself to Scylla and Charybdis and the Wandering Rocks, and is not made directly to the Argonauts, but by Hera to Thetis. Like the speech of Phineus in Book 2, it derives from Circe's words to Odysseus in *Odyssey* 12, but the information is not given first directly to those who will benefit from it. Thetis summarises part of Hera's speech when she addresses Peleus (4.858–61); like Circe's speech, this is made to one member of the crew by their former sexual partner. The way in which the Argonauts learn of their future course only partially and at second hand is typical of the weaker links between the divine and human worlds in the *Argonautica.*

It is uncertain whether Scylla and Charybdis originally came from the Argo legend,[260] although they had been located in Tyrrhenia in earlier poetry.[261] In the *Argonautica*, the Argo passes through the Wandering Rocks, avoiding Scylla and Charybdis, but passing within sight of them;[262] this reverses the pattern of the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus has to deal at different times with both Scylla and Charybdis but avoids the Rocks.

Hera's speech, like that of Circe to Odysseus, describes Scylla's parentage, but includes the additional details that Scylla's mother is Hecate, also known as Crataeis, and her father Phorcys (4.828–29).[263] This information about Scylla's parents appears to be superfluous, especially in a speech to Thetis, but the name Crataeis is found in Homer (Od. 12.124) and, as Hecate, she is of wider significance in the poem generally because of Medea's devotion to her;[264] the additional details thus tie in both to the *Odyssey* and to other parts of the *Argonautica.* The account of what Scylla and Charybdis can do to hapless seafarers is not given in full, as it is in Homer, but is summarised in two μή clauses (4.826, 4.830); the reader's knowledge of

---

[260] Cf. Merkelbach (1969), 205–6 (who believes that they did not), Meuli (1921), 89.

[261] E.g. E. Med. 1342–43 and 1359.

[262] Delage, *Géographie*, 245 thinks that the Argonauts do pass them.

[263] This genealogy is found in Acusilaus (2 F 42 = Σ ad 4.825–31g).

[264] νυκτιπόλος 'ranging by night' is used also of Brimo (a title of Hecate) at 3.862.

the *Odyssey* will supply the rest.[265] In this, Apollonius differs from his account of the Sirens, where the danger was described explicitly. As often, Apollonius takes up a rare word from Homer's account, in this case ἀναβρόχω 'gulp down' (4.826).[266] Apart from this word there are no significant echoes of Homer's description in this part of Hera's speech; Apollonius describes the danger in other words.

The Argonauts do not have to choose which route to take (this choice is made by Thetis on Hera's advice), and though Thetis mentions the Rocks to Peleus (4.860–61), the crew have no idea of what Scylla and Charybdis are like. They approach them ἄχεϊ σχόμενοι 'in deep grief' (4.920) at the loss of Boutes; this backward-looking reaction is typical of the Argonauts' communal grief at the loss of one of their number or another friend,[267] but it also recalls how Odysseus and his men were weeping at this point in their travels (Od. 12.234).

The actual passage of Scylla and Charybdis adapts more vocabulary from Homer than Hera's speech describing it. Apollonius uses λισσή 'smooth' (4.922) for the rarer λίς, substitutes the un-Homeric ἀναβλύζουσα 'spouting' (4.923) for ἀναροιβδεῖ 'sucks down again' (Od. 12.105) and in the same line replaces βεβρύχει 'bellowed' (Od. 12.242) with βοάασκεν 'roared'.[268] In addition, two animals mentioned in Homer's episode are transformed, and now appear in a disguised form. κύντερα (4.921) 'more dreadful' literally 'more dog-like', now an adjective describing Scylla and Charybdis, alludes to Scylla's puppy-like cry (Od. 12.86–87).[269] In Homer Scylla eats dolphins (Od. 12.96), but in Apollonius the Argonauts are saved by dolphin-like Nereids (4.933–38).[270]

After mentioning Scylla and Charybdis, Apollonius proceeds to describe the appearance of the Wandering Rocks (4.923–24, cf. Od.

---

[265] λεκτούς 'selected' (4.831) recalls how Scylla chooses her victims (Od. 12.246); cf. Hutchinson (1988), 103.

[266] This only occurs at Od. 12.240 (of Charybdis), Od. 11.586, and Il. 17.54 as read by Zenodotus.

[267] E.g. 1.449 (after Idmon reveals that he will die on the expedition), 1.1054–56 (the death of Cyzicus), 2.858–62 (the deaths of Idmon and Tiphys).

[268] ἄμοτον is not used, as in Homer, of emotions, but probably signifies the violence of Charybdis. 'Incessantly' (its main Homeric meaning according to LSJ) would contradict the *Odyssey*, where Charybdis' activity was only intermittent, cf. Livrea on 4.923. Cf. also its use at 2.78 (p. 64).

[269] Meaning 'horrible' (as Od. 20.18) rather than the usual 'shameless'.

[270] Cf. Mooney (1912) on 4.933.

12.201–2), and the narrative moves smoothly on to the passage through the Rocks. In the *Odyssey*, the Rocks only feature at length in Circe's speech and it is Scylla and Charybdis which have to be negotiated.

Homer's Scylla contributes to other passages in the poem, notably the description of the snake which guards the Fleece in Book 4,[271] and the approach to the Symplegades in Book 2;[272] the Symplegades are thus associated with two adjacent dangers in the *Odyssey*, since they also resemble the Wandering Rocks. Although Scylla and Charybdis are not in the end a danger to the Argonauts, they are endowed with their Homeric characteristics, which are either briefly referred to or alluded to in some other way.

4.789 (Hera to Thetis) νῦν δὲ παρὰ Σκύλλης σκόπελον μέγαν ἠὲ Χάρυβδιν
δεινὸν ἐρευγομένην δέχεται ὁδός....

('Now, however, they must travel past the great rock of Scylla and the terrible whirlpool of Charybdis.')

4.825 μηδὲ σύ γ' ἠὲ Χάρυβδιν ἀμηχανέοντας ἐάσῃς
εἰσβαλέειν, μὴ πάντας ἀναβρόξασα φέρῃσιν
ἠὲ παρὰ Σκύλλης στυγερὸν κευθμῶνα νέεσθαι -
Σκύλλης Αὐσονίης ὀλοόφρονος, ἣν τέκε Φόρκῳ
νυκτιπόλος Ἑκάτη, τήν τε κλείουσι Κράταιϊν -
μή πως σμερδαλέῃσιν ἐπαΐξασα γένυσσι
λεκτοὺς ἡρώων δηλήσεται....

('Do not allow them in their powerlessness to fall into Charybdis, lest she suck them all down and sweep them away, or to pass by the hated cave of Scylla—savage Ausonian Scylla whom night-wandering Hecate bore to Phorkos, she whom men call Crataeis—lest she leap upon them with her terrible jaws and destroy the flower of the heroes.')

4.922 τῇ μὲν γὰρ Σκύλλης λισσὴ προυφαίνετο πέτρη,
τῇ δ' ἄμοτον βοάασκεν ἀναβλύζουσα Χάρυβδις.

(On one side could be seen the glassy rock of Scylla, on the other Charybdis' whirlpools roared ceaselessly.)

Od. 12.79 (of Scylla) πέτρη γὰρ λίς ἐστι, περιξεστῇ ἐϊκυῖα.[273] ...

('... so smooth is the stone, as if it were all burnished over....')

Od. 12.104 τῷ δ' ὑπὸ δῖα Χάρυβδις ἀναρροιβδεῖ μέλαν ὕδωρ....

('... under it, awesome Charybdis sucks the dark water down.')

Od. 12.124 ἀλλὰ μάλα σφοδρῶς ἐλάαν, βωστρεῖν δὲ Κράταιϊν,
μητέρα τῆς Σκύλλης, ἥ μιν τέκε πῆμα βροτοῖσιν....

---

[271] 4.127, 4.154/Od. 12.90–91; cf. M. G. Ciani, "Poesia come enigma" in *Scritti in onore di Carlo Diano* (Bologna: 1975) 106.

[272] Cf. pp. 42–43.

[273] Cf. Od. 10.4 (Aeolus' island) ... λισσὴ δ' ἀναδέδρομε πέτρη 'rock rises sheer above it'.

('No, row hard and invoke Crataeis; she is Scylla's mother; it is she who bore her to plague mankind.')

Od. 12.234 ἡμεῖς μὲν στεινωπὸν ἀνεπλέομεν γοόωντες·
ἔνθεν γὰρ Σκύλλη, ἑτέρωθι δὲ δῖα Χάρυβδις
δεινὸν ἀνερροίβδησε θαλάσσης ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ. . . .

('So with much lamenting we rowed on and into the strait; this side lay Scylla; that side, in hideous fashion, fiendish Charybdis sucked the salt water in.')

Od. 12.240 ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀναβρόξειε θαλάσσης ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ,
πᾶσ' ἔντοσθε φάνεσκε κυκωμένη, ἀμφὶ δὲ πέτρη
δεινὸν βεβρύχει, ὑπένερθε δὲ γαῖα φάνεσκε
ψάμμῳ κυανέη· . . .

('But when she sucked the sea-water in, one might look right down through the swirling eddy while the rock roared hideously around her and the sea-floor came to view, dark and sandy.')

Od. 12.430 ἦλθον ἐπὶ Σκύλλης σκόπελον δεινήν τε Χάρυβδιν.

('. . . I reached Scylla's rock and murderous Charybdis.')

11. *The Wandering Rocks*

A comparison of Apollonius' and Homer's accounts may be found on pp. 214–16 at the end of this section.

This is a unique example of an Argonautic adventure which is explicitly mentioned as such in Homer (Od. 12.69–72). As with some of the surrounding episodes, the *Odyssey* has twofold authority; it has claimed originally Argonautic material which Apollonius in turn reclaims for his heroes, and this material is part of a series of episodes whose Odyssean settings are transplanted into the *Argonautica*. Although in other cases Homer may be drawing on accounts of the Argo's voyage, here the debt is acknowledged in the *Odyssey* itself.[274]

Apollonius makes a clear distinction between the Planctae or 'Wandering' Rocks and the Symplegades or 'Clashing' Rocks.[275] The latter are situated at the entrance to the Black Sea and are passed by the Argonauts on their way to Colchis (2.549–609).[276] Homer's Wandering Rocks are also most plausibly located at the western end of the Black Sea, in view of the explicit reference to the Argonautic

[274] Cf. e.g. Roux (1949), 22–24.

[275] Cf. Vian I, 150.

[276] Usually known as Συμπληγάδες 'clashing together' (E. IT 355, Med. 1263) or Κυάνεαι 'dark' (Hdt. 4.85 cf. also 2.317–18), also Συνδρομάδες 'running together' (Pi. P.4.208, E. IT 421); only Apollonius calls them Πληγάδες 'clashing' (2.596, 2.645). As often, Apollonius varies vocabulary, while retaining a link to his predecessors.

expedition (Od. 12.69–72), and seem to be based on the Symplegades,[277] if one believes that the doves which carry ambrosia to Zeus (Od. 12.62–65) are somehow related to the one which the Argonauts send through in advance of the ship.[278] Timaeus put the Wandering Rocks near Sicily;[279] this entails a very roundabout route for the Argo, a route which Apollonius works into the return voyage by taking the Argo up the Po and down the Rhône and down the west coast of Italy. In turn, Apollonius' description of the Symplegades in Book 2 draws on Homer's Wandering Rocks.

The name of the rocks is known only to the gods in Homer (Od. 12.61); Thetis mentions them to Peleus at 4.860 as if he had not heard of them before. The periphrasis πέτρας αἵ τε Πλαγκταὶ καλέονται 'the rocks which are called Wandering' may suggest debate over whether Homer was referring to the Wandering or the Clashing Rocks, or reverse Homer's Ἀργὼ πασιμέλουσα 'the Argo which is of concern to all' (Od. 12.70); it is now the Rocks which are talked about rather than the Argo.

The confusion of the two sets of rocks made by some ancient authors[280] is suggested at 4.786–88. Despite the echoes of Book 2,[281] these lines refer to the Wandering Rocks, both by name and because Hera speaks of her own help and the danger coming from waves and fiery storms. The reference of ἐσάωσα 'I saved' to *past* events is taken over from Homer,[282] so that the passage of the Wandering Rocks is apparently both in the past and in the immediate future. This is not carelessness, but a substitution of 'literary time', as with πάρος 'before' at 4.667; indeed this interpretation supports Merkel's reading of πάρος at line 4.787. Hera reminds Thetis of how she (Hera) saved the Argo in past epics, including the *Odyssey*, and implies that

[277] Cf. Merkelbach (1969), 204–5.

[278] The use of a dove to test whether the ship can get through the rocks safely may derive from Sophocles' *Phineus* and not be Apollonius' invention; Σ ad Od. 12.69 attributes this version to Asclepiades, who was probably using a tragic source. On the association of birds with the Rocks, cf. Lindsay (1965), 61–74.

[279] Cf. Timaeus 566 F 85. He also located the Rocks in the Straits of Messina (Σ ad 4.786–87 = 566 F 86).

[280] Cf. Hdt. 4.85, Σ ad E. Med. 2, Pliny, Nat. 6.32, Peripl. M. Eux. 16r20–25; Crane (1988), 153–54, A. Severyns, *Le cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque* (Liège: 1928) 181.

[281] 2.550 σπιλάδεσσιν 'rocks' cf. 4.788, 2.597 βρόμεον 'roared' cf. 4.787. Vian III, 41–43 makes 4.786 an unreal condition, following Giangrande (1973), 37; cf. also R. C. Seaton, "The Symplegades and the Planctae," *AJP* 8 (1887), 434, and Livrea ad loc., who believe that the lines refer to the Symplegades.

[282] As suggested by Wilamowitz (1924), v. 2, 179 n. 1.

'now it is time to do it in this one'. Homer's exceptional reference to the Argo is in the past for Apollonius (even more so than the events of the *Odyssey* are), and strict chronology is broken.

The location of the Rocks relative to both Scylla and Charybdis is disputed. In both Homer and Apollonius there is a choice of two routes, one leading to the Rocks, the other to Scylla and Charybdis; this is the most natural way to take ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ πέτραι 'on the one side are rocks' (Od. 12.59), οἱ δὲ δύω σκόπελοι 'on the other side are a pair of cliffs' (Od. 12.73) and τῇ μὲν . . . τῇ δ' . . . ἄλλοθι δὲ Πλαγκταὶ 'On one side . . . on the other. . . . In another part the . . . Wandering Rocks' (4.922–24).[283] This might identify the Rocks with the Lipari islands,[284] though the Argo appears to pass through the Straits of Messina; again the ambiguity reinforces Apollonius' unwillingness to identify Homeric locations in terms of 'real' geography in the 'Odyssean' section of the *Argonautica*.

It is uncertain quite how the Homeric Wandering Rocks operate; one is deadly to birds (Od. 12.64), the other to ships with waves and fiery storms (Od. 12.68). Homer also mentions the rocks' steepness and the huge waves (Od. 12.59–60). Od. 12.71–72 claim that the Argo would have been dashed against the rocks if Hera had not protected her. Nowhere is it explicitly stated that the Rocks themselves move; the danger to ships appears to be the 'storms of fire' (Od. 12.68) (probably deriving from travellers' tales of volcanic eruptions) and the waves, which dash the vessel against the rocks. Some ancient scholars held this view; Σ^{H} ad Od. 12.61 (possibly Aristarchean[285]) defines Πλακτάς (*sic*) as διὰ τὸ προσπλήσσεσθαι αὐταῖς τὰ κύματα 'because of the waves' beating against them', and the scholiast to Pindar, P.4.208 also suggests (quoting Od. 12.71) that the νεώτεροι 'more recent authorities' thought that the rocks were immobile.

Apollonius also stresses the size of the waves (4.788, 4.836, 4.924, 4.941, 4.943–44, 4.947, 4.955), and mentions the fiery eruption which occurs just before the Argo reaches the rocks (4.925–29, in 4.955 ζέεν retains its literal sense of 'boil' as well as 'seethe'). The smoke from the eruption creates a further hazard by dramatically reducing

---

[283] So Livrea on 4.921, C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* (Berlin: 1920–21 repr. 1966–67) 825, though cf. Vian III, 43–45 and J. Bollack, "Note sur l'épisode des Planctes," *Actes de la recherche des sciences sociales* 3 (1976), 173–76, for the view that the Rocks lie between Scylla and Charybdis.

[284] With Delage, *Géographie*, 242.

[285] Cf. Severyns (1928), 181.

visibility (4.927–28). Hera requests that Hephaestus cease his activity in the region (760–64, 775–77); she sees the danger to the Argo as being πέτραι καὶ ὑπέρβια κύματ(α) 'rocks and violent waves' (4.823), while for Thetis the waves and fiery storms are the hazard (4.834–37). The combination of waves and volcanic activity agrees with the Homeric description of the rocks.

4.945–47 apparently describe the rocks moving vertically up and down; however, here Apollonius is, as often, focalising by imagining the scene as it would appear to those present, rather than from a disinterested viewpoint. In a very stormy sea the rocks could appear from a ship toweringly high at one moment and invisible beneath the waves at the next, without actually moving. The urgency of the situation and the disorientation felt by those on board a violently moving vessel would prevent them from observing the rocks in a detached, scientific way, and would leave them only with impressions of how the rocks *appeared* to behave.

This interpretation, like Fränkel's,[286] dispenses with the magical. The 'realism' of the rocks' behaviour creates a twofold contrast. Firstly, it contrasts with the divine intervention of the Nereids who have been prompted by Hera, via Thetis; Hera's aid has Homeric precedent (Od. 12.72). The contrast is further pointed by the light-hearted simile (4.948–52), set in such a serious situation. It is in keeping with the 'frivolous' nature of the divine intervention that the Argonauts appear to feel no fear at what is happening (compare Odysseus' men at Charybdis (Od. 12.243)), although Athena is anxious (4.960). Secondly, there is a contrast with the account of the Symplegades, where Phineus states that the rocks are free-floating (2.320–22), and the description of the actual passage indicates several times that they moved apart and clashed together (2.553, 2.560, 2.564–65, 2.574–75, 2.601–2); in the case of the Wandering Rocks the danger from the waves (and to a lesser extent from fire) is continually stressed

[286] Fränkel believes (*Noten*, 543–45) that Apollonius explicitly states the rocks were fixed at their base to the sea bed, and that ἠρήρειν (4.947) is a part of ἀραρίσκω 'fix', not of ἐρείδω 'rest'. This would diminish the scene's visual impact by intrusively adding a piece of information unavailable to the sailors, apart from the difficulties of ὀτὲ . . . ἄλλοτε. νεάτῳ ὑπὸ πυθμένι . . . ἠρήρειν (4.946–47) echoes ῥίζῃσιν ἐρήρεινται νεάτῃσιν (2.320, of the Symplegades). If ἠρήρειν is from ἐρείδω it would suggest that by contrast in 4.945 the rocks were *not* resting on the sea bed, but this is the way they *appear*. (Incidentally, Fränkel's interpretation of 4.946–47 would not entail that the rocks were immobile; there would remain the possibility that the rocks expanded and contracted while remaining fixed at the base).

and the supernatural properties of the rocks are completely played down. At the Symplegades, the Argonauts *are* afraid (2.575).

The verbal similarities are almost entirely limited to words like κύματα 'waves', πέτραι 'rocks', πῦρ 'fire' and θύελλα 'storm', which directly pertain to the Rocks. These replace the ingenious allusions or adaptations of Homeric material of the kind which can be found in Apollonius' treatment of the Sirens and Scylla and Charybdis. Instead, the relationship of the episode to the *Odyssey* could hardly be more straightforward, since it is referred to directly in the earlier epic.

The Wandering Rocks are treated in the opposite way to Scylla and Charybdis in that the Argonauts encounter them, but Odysseus does not. The emphasis on natural rather than supernatural dangers is also a feature of Homer's description of the Rocks, as some ancient critics realised, and Apollonius' account reflects this line of interpretation. It deliberately introduces ambiguities at 4.786–88, in keeping with the Rocks' own lack of stability.[287] As with the treatment of Circe, the behaviour of the Rocks is explained 'rationally', while retaining similarities to its Homeric model.

4.763 εἰπὲ δὲ κοιμῆσαι φύσας πυρός, εἰσόκεν Ἀργὼ
τάς γε παρεξελάσῃσιν. . . .

('. . . tell [Hephaestus] to dampen the blasts of fire until the Argo is safely beyond them.')

4.786 οἵῃ τέ σφ' ἐσάωσα διὰ Πλαγκτὰς περόωντας
πέτρας, ἔνθα πυρὸς δειναὶ βρομέουσι θύελλαι,
κύματά τε σκληρῇσι περιβλύει σπιλάδεσσι. . . .

('. . . how I brought them safely through the journey between the Wandering Rocks, where terrible gusts of fire roar and the waves seethe around the harsh reefs.')

4.823 δεῖμα δέ τοι πέτραι καὶ ὑπέρβια κύματ' ἔασι
μοῦνον, ἅ κεν τρέψαιο κασιγνήτῃσι σὺν ἄλλαις.

('Only the rocks and violent waves induce fear, but you and your sisters can overcome these.')

4.834 εἰ μὲν δὴ μαλεροῖο πυρὸς μένος ἠδὲ θύελλαι
ζαχρηεῖς λήξουσιν ἐτήτυμον, ἦ τ' ἂν ἔγωγε
θαρσαλέη φαίην, καὶ κύματος ἀντιόωντος,
νῆα σαωσέμεναι, Ζεφύρου λίγα κινυμένοιο.

('If in truth the fiercely blazing fire and the furious wind-storms will cease, then indeed would I confidently promise to save the ship, even if the waves oppose us, provided that the Zephyr blows gently.')

---

[287] Cf. the ambiguity of the mist in Colchis (p. 226 n. 316).

4.860 νῆα διὲκ πέτρας αἵ τε Πλαγκταὶ καλέονται
ῥυσόμεναι·
('. . . to assist in bringing the ship safely through the rocks which are called Wandering.')

4.924 ἄλλοθι δὲ Πλαγκταὶ μεγάλῳ ὑπὸ κύματι πέτραι
ῥόχθεον, ἧχι πάροιθεν ἀπέπτυεν αἰθομένη φλὸξ
ἄκρων ἐκ σκοπέλων πυριθαλπέος ὑψόθι πέτρης,
καπνῷ δ' ἀχλυόεις αἰθὴρ πέλεν οὐδέ κεν αὐγὰς
ἔδρακες ἠελίοιο. . . .
(In another part the Wandering Rocks resounded to the great surge of the waves, where until then blazing flame had leapt up from the high peaks far above the boiling rock. The air was thick with smoke and you could not have seen the rays of the sun. . . .)

4.932 Πλαγκτῇσιν ἐνὶ σπιλάδεσσιν ἔρυσθαι. . . .
(. . . to guide them through the Wandering Rocks.)

4.939 καὶ ῥ' ὅτε δὴ Πλαγκτῇσιν ἐνιχρίμψεσθαι ἔμελλον,
αὐτίκ' ἀνασχόμεναι λευκοῖς ἐπὶ γούνασι πέζας,
ὑψοῦ ἐπ' αὐτάων σπιλάδων καὶ κύματος ἀγῆς
ῥώοντ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διασταδὸν ἀλλήλῃσι.
τὴν δὲ παρηορίην κόπτεν ῥόος· ἀμφὶ δὲ κῦμα
λάβρον ἀειρόμενον πέτραις ἐπικαχλάζεσκεν·
(Just as they were about to crash against the Wandering Rocks, the nymphs lifted their hems up to their white knees and swiftly took up positions at regular intervals above the very rocks and the breaking surf on either side. The surge was knocking the ship off course, and all around the high, rough waves seethed against the rocks. . . .)

Od. 12.55 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ τάς γε παρὲξ ἐλάσωσιν ἑταῖροι. . . .
('When your crew have rowed past the Sirens. . . .')

Od. 12.59 ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ πέτραι ἐπηρεφέες, προτὶ δ' αὐτὰς
κῦμα μέγα ῥοχθεῖ κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης·
Πλαγκτὰς δ' ἦ τοι τάς γε θεοὶ μάκαρες καλέουσι. . . .
('On the one side are overshadowing rocks against which dash the mighty billows of the goddess of blue-glancing seas. The blessed gods call these rocks the Wanderers.')

Od. 12.66 τῇ δ' οὔ πώ τις νηῦς φύγεν ἀνδρῶν, ἥ τις ἵκηται,
ἀλλά θ' ὁμοῦ πίνακάς τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν
κύμαθ' ἁλὸς φορέουσι πυρός τ' ὀλοοῖο θύελλαι.
οἴη δὴ κείνῃ γε παρέπλω ποντοπόρος νηῦς
Ἀργὼ πασιμέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα·
καί νύ κε τὴν ἔνθ' ὦκα βάλεν μεγάλας ποτὶ πέτρας,
ἀλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων.
('Nor has any ship carrying men ever come there and gone its way in safety; the ship's timbers, the crew's dead bodies are carried away by the sea waves and by blasts of deadly fire. One alone among seagoing ships did indeed sail past on her way home from Aeetes' kingdom—this was Argo, whose name is on all men's tongues; and even she would soon have been dashed against the great rocks had not Hera herself, in her love for Jason, sped the ship past.')

Od. 12.201 . . . αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα
καπνὸν καὶ μέγα κῦμα ἴδον καὶ δοῦπον ἄκουσα.
('. . . when I saw smoke above heavy breakers and heard a great noise.')

12. *The Cattle of the Sun*

Homer's and Apollonius' accounts are compared on pp. 219–220 at the end of this section.

There is little definite evidence before Apollonius for the Argonauts' passing the Cattle of the Sun, though the association with Helios makes it likely that this episode was connected with the Argonauts or with Medea before it was told of Odysseus.[288] Timaeus discussed the name Thrinacia,[289] possibly in connexion with the Argonauts.

Apollonius' scene is a beautiful example of how he can combine allusions to several passages in Homer with original material in a short episode which is little more than a description of what the Argonauts can see from their ship. There are three descriptions of the cattle in the *Odyssey*; both Teiresias and Circe warn Odysseus of the danger of killing them, and later he is forced to land on their island. Apart from the inevitable Ἠέλιος 'Sun', μῆλα 'flocks' and βόες 'cattle', there are other verbal similarities to *Odyssey* 12. Circe's speech contributes the names of the shepherdesses (though Lampetie also appears at Od. 12.375), and the wonderfully onomatopoeic βληχή 'bleating' and μυκηθμός 'mooing'[290] are drawn from later in *Odyssey* 12 when Odysseus approaches the island. These words open the description; we hear the animals in sounds which come from Homer. The only echo which is specifically from Teiresias' speech (Od. 11.100–37) is the use of the participle βοσκομένας 'grazing' rather than a finite verb, at line-beginning (4.975, cf. Od. 11.108).

However, despite the heavy and obvious reliance on the *Odyssey*, there are also innovations in material and vocabulary. Homer does

---

[288] Cf. Meuli (1921), 94–97; Merkelbach (1969), 206 believes that the anger of Helios is borrowed from the Argo story, but not the details of the incident, but Dufner (1988), 32–35, doubts the borrowing altogether.

[289] Σ ad 4.965 = 566 F 37, cf. Brown (1958), 24–25, Pearson (1987), 57. Trinacria as an old name for Sicily: Thuc. 6.2.2, Theoc. 28.18, Call. h. 3.57, D.S. 5.2.1. On the 'Homeric' choice of name, cf. Dufner (1988), 104–5.

[290] βληχή is a *hapax legomenon* in Homer, rare elsewhere; μυκηθμός occurs also at 3.864, 3.1297, Il. 18.575.

not say that Phaethousa was the youngest daughter of the sun god, as Apollonius does (4.971). Nor does Homer differentiate the duties of the two daughters, whereas in the *Argonautica* Phaethousa tends the sheep and Lampetie the cattle; but even this division of labour has a Homeric precedent, since in the *Odyssey* it is Lampetie who notices that the cattle have been sacrificed (Od. 12.375). Apollonius does not tell us about the girls' mother, as Homer does (Od. 12.133–36); this reverses his practice in the case of the Sirens (4.895–98) and Scylla (4.828–29), where he gives more information on parentage and early life than Homer does. Paradoxically, in later literature Phaethousa and Lampetie are named among the Heliades who became trees as they grieved for their brother Phaethon and who appear (unnamed) at 4.603–26.[291] If they were transformed in earlier accounts, then Apollonius' fidelity to Homer makes him turn them back into human shape within a few hundred lines!

The specification of the cattle's colouring (4.976–78) is also new; Homer describes them only as καλαὶ βόες εὐρυμέτωποι 'fine broad-browed herds' (Od. 12.262). However, these details are not of purely incidental interest; white colouring is usual for animals sacrificed to the Sun-god, and the gold horns recall the gilding of the horns of victims.[292] We are thus reminded of the occasion when these animals *were* sacrificed (and its consequences), and are led to wonder whether the Argonauts will make the same mistake.

The stress on the absence of black cattle and on their uniformity in colour (4.976–77) may also allude to a notoriously hard[293] mathematical problem posed by Archimedes to Eratosthenes and other Alexandrian mathematicians, in which the cattle of the Sun (which are located in Sicily (Archim. Bov. 7)) are one of four colours (including milk-white and κυάνεος 'dark'), the numbers of bulls and cows of each colour being expressed as square and triangular numbers which are specified proportions of one other; the problem is to work

---

[291] E.g. Ov. Met. 2.346–66; cf. J. Diggle, ed., *Euripides: Phaethon* (Cambridge: 1970), 32 n. 3.

[292] For the whiteness, cf. Il. 3.103–4, Theoc. 25.129–33. For gilding, cf. Il. 10.294, Od. 3.384. The bulls in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus were uniform in colour and had gilded horns (Athen. 5.202a).

[293] If it is the problem of Archimedes referred to in Cic. ad Att. 12.4, 13.28 as a byword for difficulty. The problem has been taxing even for modern mathematicians, and the solution to it as stated is an immensely large number; cf. L. E. Dickson, *History of the Theory of Numbers* (Washington: 1919–23), v. 2, 342–45, E. J. Dijksterhuis, trans. C. Dikshoorn, *Archimedes* (Princeton: 1987), 398–401.

out the exact numbers of each colour.[294] The chronology of Archimedes' life makes him a little younger than Apollonius; however, he could have been active at the time of the composition of the *Argonautica*. There is some verbal similarity between the epigram which preserves the problem and the description of the cattle in Apollonius,[295] although the poetic form of the problem could be the work of a later versifier familiar with the *Argonautica*. The *Argonautica* refuses to admit that there is a problem by denying the premise on which it is based (that the cattle are more than one colour).

Apollonius mentions the island's landscape several times (4.965, 4.970, 4.975–76), as does Homer (Od. 12.305–6, Od. 12.317–18), but does not call Thrinacia an island (unlike e.g. Od. 12.127). As often in the *Argonautica*, we are given visual details such as the different types of crook held by the two girls and the colouring of the cattle;[296] sounds are also described (4.968–69). These details enhance the pastoral colouring of the scene.

There are several unusual words, in addition to βληχή discussed above. χαῖον 'staff' (4.972) is extremely rare,[297] one of the few glosses in Apollonius; in the same line, πηχύνω 'wield' is unattested before the Hellenistic period.[298] The metal ὀρείχαλκος 'orichalch' (4.973) is unknown to Homer. Ὀπηδεύω for ὀπηδέω 'follow' is exclusively Apollonian (4.675, 4.974). There are two more Homeric *hapax legomena*: δρίος 'thicket' (4.970, Od. 14.353) and καλαῦροψ 'crook' (4.974, Il. 23.845, cf. also 2.33). The adjective λειμώνιος 'full of meadows' (4.976) is not Homeric, nor is the iterative form κυδιάασκον 'gloried in' (4.978) attested before Apollonius. There is thus extensive use of Homeric *hapax legomena* and words not found in Homer, some possibly invented by Apollonius. Some of these words (such as those used for the

---

[294] Cf. B. Krumbiegel, "Das problema bovinum des Archimedes," *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik (Hist.-lit. Abt.)* 25 (1880), 121–36 (who suspects that the epigram is not by Archimedes), Fraser (1972), v. 1, 407–9.

[295] Especially lines 5–6: . . . τὸ μὲν λευκοῖο γάλακτος / κυανέῳ δ' ἕτερον χρώματι λαμπόμενον 'one milk-white, another with a shining dark hide', cf. 4.977, and the name Thrinacia at line-beginning at line 4 and 4.965. The unusual ὄμπνιος 'of corn' occurs at line 44 and at 4.989, a little after the passage under consideration, though this word was popular in Hellenistic poets; cf. Fraser (1972), v. 2, 590, n. 259.

[296] On the relationship to Hellenistic painting, cf. E. Phinney, "Hellenistic painting and the poetic style of Apollonius," *Classical Journal* 62 (1967), 148–49.

[297] Only elsewhere at Call. fr. 292.2 (glosses are less surprising in Callimachus) and possibly Alcman fr. 16 Page, though ἐρυσίχαιον may mean 'an inhabitant of Erysiche'; both occurrences are cited by Σ ad 4.972a.

[298] Also AP 12.121.3 (Rhianus).

implements wielded by the Sun's daughters) add details to the description of the scene, but others, for example πηχύνουσα, could have been replaced by commoner forms. This combination of obvious borrowing from the Homeric lexicon and equally obvious differences from it (in both material and vocabulary) is characteristic of the *Argonautica* as a whole, but is particularly striking here, in a scene which has obvious Homeric antecedents.

The above discussion has concentrated on descriptive rather than narrative aspects of the episode because action is kept to a minimum. The scene follows seamlessly from the passage of the Wandering Rocks; at 4.968 no sooner have the Nereids vanished beneath the waves than the Argonauts hear the lowing and bleating of Helios' animals. In Homer, as in Apollonius, a reference to the island (4.964–65, Od. 12.261–63) precedes the animals' being heard from out at sea (4.968–69, Od. 12.265–66).[299] In this way the arrival of the Argonauts is set up in the same way as Odysseus'; unlike him, they do not know of the disaster that would befall them if they were to kill any of the cattle, and the poet does not mention the danger.

The reader is kept in suspense as to how far the Argonauts' encounter will resemble Odysseus' but at 4.979 the situation is quietly defused as they sail by with no more than a passing glance, following the course which Odysseus tries to enjoin on his men at Od. 12.271–76. Yet they seem to be aware that they have now passed the last of this series of Homeric dangers since they are said to be pleased (4.980).[300]

4.964 ὦκα δ' ἄμειβον
Θρινακίης λειμῶνα, βοῶν τροφὸν Ἠελίοιο. . . .
968 τοὺς δ' ἄμυδις βληχή τε δι' ἠέρος ἵκετο μήλων
μυκηθμός τε βοῶν αὐτοσχεδὸν οὔατ' ἔβαλλε.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐρσήεντα κατὰ δρία ποιμαίνεσκεν
ὁπλοτέρη Φαέθουσα θυγατρῶν Ἠελίοιο,
ἀργύρεον χαῖον παλάμῃ ἔνι πηχύνουσα·
Λαμπετίη δ' ἐπὶ βουσὶν ὀρειχάλκοιο φαεινοῦ
πάλλεν ὀπηδεύουσα καλαύροπα. τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
βοσκομένας ποταμοῖο παρ' ὕδασιν εἰσορόωντο. . . .

(. . . swiftly they passed the meadow of Thrinacia, nurse of the cattle of Helios. . . . From close at hand the Argonauts heard the bleating of sheep

[299] Cf. Dufner (1988), 104–5, on the Argonauts' initial experience being like Odysseus'.

[300] There are also verbal echoes of the Odyssean episode in Phineus' reference to the isle of Ares (p. 174), and in events on Thynias (cf. Nelis (1988), 181–83).

and the lowing of cattle drifting through the air. The sheep were herded through dew-filled woods by Phaethousa, youngest daughter of Helios, who held a silver crook in her hand, while Lampetie had charge of the cattle and followed after them brandishing a staff of glittering orichalc. The Argonauts watched the cattle grazing beside the waters of the river....)

Od. 11.106 (Teiresias) ὁππότε κε πρῶτον πελάσῃς εὐεργέα νῆα
Θρινακίῃ νήσῳ, προφυγὼν ἰοειδέα πόντον,
βοσκομένας δ' εὕρητε βόας καὶ ἴφια μῆλα
Ἠελίου, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ, καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.

('... when you leave dark ocean and bring your vessel near the Thrinacian island. You will find sheep and cattle grazing there; they belong to a god, the all-seeing all-hearing sun.')

Od. 12.127 (Circe) Θρινακίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφίξεαι· ἔνθα δὲ πολλαὶ
βόσκοντ' Ἠελίοιο βόες καὶ ἴφια μῆλα,
ἑπτὰ βοῶν ἀγέλαι, τόσα δ' οἰῶν πώεα καλά,
πεντήκοντα δ' ἕκαστα· γόνος δ' οὐ γίγνεται αὐτῶν,
οὐδέ ποτε φθινύθουσι. θεαὶ δ' ἐπιποιμένες εἰσί,
νύμφαι ἐϋπλόκαμοι, Φαέθουσά τε Λαμπετίη τε,
ἃς τέκεν Ἠελίῳ Ὑπερίονι δῖα Νέαιρα.
τὰς μὲν ἄρα θρέψασα τεκοῦσά τε πότνια μήτηρ
Θρινακίην ἐς νῆσον ἀπῴκισε τηλόθι ναίειν,
μῆλα φυλασσέμεναι πατρώϊα καὶ ἕλικας βοῦς.

('Then you will reach the isle of Thrinacia. In this there are grazing many cows and many fat flocks of sheep; they are the sungod's—seven herds of cows and as many fine flocks of sheep. In each herd and each flock there are fifty beasts; no births increase them, no deaths diminish them. They are pastured by goddesses, lovely-haired nymphs named Phaethousa and Lampetie, whose father is the sun-god Hyperion and whose mother is bright Neaera; having borne and bred them, she took them away to remote Thrinacia to live there and tend their father's sheep and the herds with curling horns.')

Od. 12.261 ... αὐτικ' ἔπειτα θεοῦ ἐς ἀμύμονα νῆσον
ἱκόμεθ'· ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν καλαὶ βόες εὐρυμέτωποι,
πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλ' Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο.
δὴ τότ' ἐγὼν ἔτι πόντῳ ἐὼν ἐν νηῒ μελαίνῃ
μυκηθμοῦ τ' ἤκουσα βοῶν αὐλιζομενάων
οἰῶν τε βληχήν·

('... we came soon enough to the lovely island of the sun-god. Here were the fine broad-browed herds, here were the plentiful fat flocks of Hyperion. While the dark ship was still out at sea, I heard sheep bleating and cows lowing as they entered their quarters for the night.')

13. *Calypso*

Calypso does not appear as a character in the *Argonautica*, but her island is mentioned in passing.

4.574 ἵνα κρείουσα Καλυψὼ
Ἀτλαντὶς ναίεσκε·
(... where Queen Calypso, daughter of Atlas, lived....)
Od. 7.245 ἔνθα μὲν Ἄτλαντος θυγάτηρ, δολόεσσα Καλυψώ,
ναίει....
('The daughter of Atlas has her home there, Calypso, a goddess of... many wiles....')

Apollonius sites Calypso in a different place from Antimachus and Callimachus, near the Keraunian mountains; in other accounts, she lived further south near Crete or Malta.[301] Her island is nowhere else called Νυμφαίη; the name recalls the description of Calypso as νύμφη 'nymph' at Od. 1.14 and frequently thereafter.[302]

The reference to her island immediately precedes the conveying of Hera's message that the Argonauts must visit Circe (4.576–91). The two goddesses who detain Odysseus are thus mentioned in close succession. Calypso's island is the first place from Odysseus' travels to be mentioned in the *Argonautica*, just as it is the site of the first of his adventures to be described in the *Odyssey*, and its appearance signals that more Odyssean material lies ahead.

In fact the island is near to Scheria, as is implied in the *Odyssey*, though this is not yet clear to the Argonauts or to the reader; the Phaeacian connexion is established at 4.537–51 with an account of the colonising of nearby land by Hyllus, a Phaeacian son of Heracles. Instead of passing directly from Calypso to the Phaeacians, the Argonauts must take a long and roundabout route northwards and down the far side of Italy. A further contrast with Homer is the seven years Odysseus spends with Calypso compared with the total indifference of the Argonauts towards her; it is not even certain that they recognise her island.

Despite the brevity of her actual appearance, Calypso's influence

---

[301] Antimachus fr. 142 Wyss (= Σ ad Od. 1.85) read Ogylia (an island near Crete). Dufner (1988), 152–59 suggests complex but over-ingenious relationships between Calypso and the murder of Apsyrtus. Callimachus (fr. 470) identifies the island with Gaudos.

[302] Of sixteen occurrences of the word in the singular in the *Odyssey*, twelve refer to her. She is also νύμφη at Hes. fr. 150.31.

pervades other parts of the poem. *Odyssey* 5 is one of the models for the relationship of Hypsipyle and Jason, and the opening of the book influences the opening of Book 3.[303] The description of her cave (Od. 5.57–69) is used at 2.731–45 of the entrance to Hades, and that of her vine and springs (Od. 5.68–71) at 3.219–27 of the vines and springs outside Aeetes' palace. By fragmenting allusions to her, Apollonius treats Calypso in a similar way to other Homeric figures, such as Circe and the Cyclops.

Odysseus' journey from Calypso's island to Scheria is also transplanted into two different parts of the poem, neither close to Calypso's own appearance. The shipwreck is one of the models for the shipwreck of the sons of Phrixus in Book 2 (pp. 74–75). The preparations for the first part of the voyage which precedes it are also alluded to as the Argo sets sail from Pagasae (1.547–68, Od. 5.234–96) (cf. also pp. 77–78). There is a structural significance in the choice of this particular model. Although Odysseus is in fact near the end of his wanderings, this is the first of his journeys to be described in the *Odyssey*; it is thus appropriate for Apollonius to recall it as the Argonauts set sail for the first time.

1.561 . . . ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἐΰξοα τεχνηέντως
πηδάλι' ἀμφιέπεσκ', ὄφρ' ἔμπεδον ἐξιθύνοι. . . .
(. . . who held the well-planed rudder expertly in his hands to guide their route truly.)
Od. 5.237 δῶκε δ' ἔπειτα σκέπαρνον ἐΰξοον·
(. . . she gave him a polished adze as well.)
Od. 5.255 πηδάλιον ποιήσατο, ὄφρ' ἰθύνοι.
(. . . he added a steering-oar to keep the craft straight.)
Od. 5.270 αὐτὰρ ὁ πηδαλίῳ ἰθύνετο τεχνηέντως
([Odysseus] . . . in expert fashion began to guide his course.)

1.548 οἳ τότ' ἄριστοι
πόντον ἐπιπλώεσκον.
(. . . who sailed the sea, best of all men.)
Od. 5.283 εἴσατο γάρ οἱ
πόντον ἐπιπλώων·
(. . . he spied [him] sailing the seas.)
Cf. also:
1.516 *proecdosis* ἦμος δὲ τριτάτη φάνη ἠὼς τῇδ' ἐπὶ νυκτί
(When the third dawn came after that night. . . .)
Od. 5.390 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τρίτον ἦμαρ ἐϋπλόκαμος τέλεσ' Ἠώς,
(But when Dawn of the braided tresses had ushered in the third day. . . .)

[303] Cf. p. 292, Hunter on 3.6–7 and on 3.43–47.

14. *The Phaeacians*

The Phaeacians are the last of Odysseus' adventures to be directly repeated in Book 4; however, by then *Odyssey* 6–8 has already been extensively used in the *Argonautica*. Odysseus' stay on Scheria is alluded to in a number of episodes in the first two books; in Book 1, for example, its influence can be traced at the initial launching of the Argo, in the Lemnos episode and in the abduction of Hylas.[304] The stay of the Argonauts with King Lycus in Book 2 encapsulates in miniature some of the events of the Phaeacian episode; the Argonauts are welcomed (2.755–58) and given a feast in the palace (2.759–61), Jason tells of their adventures to date (2.762–71), and Lycus replies, before personally seeing his visitors sent on their way with gifts (2.812–14).[305]

The influence of the Phaeacian episode on certain parts of Book 3 is well known,[306] and is the most obvious instance of a Homeric episode influencing a whole episode in Apollonius, apart from the 'direct' borrowings in Book 4, but the use of the Odyssean episode throughout the book goes far beyond these often-cited allusions. Throughout Book 3 there are references to it, and recognition of these references is important not only for the interpretation of the book, but for the study of Apollonius' use of Homer in general. Comparison with Apollonius' own Phaeacian episode in Book 4 shows that he fragments his models, using different passages or exploring the same passage from different angles. It is possible that Homer's Phaeacian episode and the legends concerning events in Colchis are variations on the same legendary theme,[307] in which case the debt of Book 3 to *Odyssey* 6–8 is only strengthening an already ancient link.

Homer's own Phaeacian episode has been shown to use narrative themes which recur in Odysseus' experiences with Circe and on

---

[304] Cf. Clauss (1993), 66–69, 80–83 (launching), 130–34, 142–46 (Lemnos) and 191–93 (Hylas). Cf. Nelis (1992), esp. 154–56, on the relationship between *Odyssey* 8 and the launching of the Argo.

[305] Cf. 2.761 τέρποντό . . . ἔπεσσιν 'they delighted in talking' and Od. 8.91, 2.771–72/Od. 13.1–2, 2.811–14/Od. 13.16–22.

[306] Cf. Beye (1982), 121, B. Pavlock, *Eros, Imitation and the Epic Tradition* (Ithaca: 1990) 51–67 (on Medea's resemblances to and differences from Nausicaa) and commentators ad loc.

[307] Crane (1988), 136–43 (esp. 140–41) speculates that both may be instances of the same tradition.

Ithaca;[308] Apollonius also employs many of these themes, especially in Book 3 where they can be explored at length; like Homer, he describes different types of welcome and on more than one occasion his heroes are involved in an awkward relationship with their hosts. The visit to Drepane is the last time they meet the human inhabitants of a land they visit, and events there recall earlier stages in their journeys; as at Colchis they must negotiate with a local king, as at Cyzicus and among the Bebryces there is the threat of warfare and as at Lemnos a love affair is consummated.

a) *Book 3*

There is no Homeric episode which exactly parallels Medea's falling in love with Jason, her helping him and their elopement. However, a partial model can be found in Nausicaa's attraction to Odysseus and the help she gives him, although there is no actual love-affair between them. Like Nausicaa, Medea is the unmarried daughter of the king of the land visited by Greeks. This suggests the possibility of making comparisons between Medea and Nausicaa, between Jason and Odysseus (as elsewhere in the poem), and also between Aeetes and Alcinous.

In the first direct contact between the Argonauts and Colchis, their meeting with the shipwrecked sons of Phrixus at the end of Book 2, the Argonauts learn that Aeetes married his daughter to Phrixus when the latter arrived at Colchis on the golden ram (2.1146–51), behaviour similar to Alcinous' attempt to interest Odysseus in Nausicaa (Od. 7.311–15).[309] Aeetes is here presented in the mould of Alcinous; however inappropriate the similarity, it nevertheless implies that Colchis can be evaluated by the criteria of Homer's Scheria.

Before events in Colchis get under way, the Phaeacian court is recalled by allusions to the song of Demodocus in the opening scene on Olympus (3.39–41, Od. 8.269–77, Od. 8.359–61) (p. 257).[310] Both

[308] B. Louden, "An Extended Narrative Pattern in the *Odyssey*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 34 (1993), 5–33, draws extensive parallels between these episodes.

[309] Cf. Hunter (1991), 91. Aeetes' own version of events is different (3.584–88).

[310] On the allusions to *Odyssey* 8, cf. Hunter on 3.38–42, Lennox (1980), 49–50 and p. 294. τεχνήεις 'skilled' is used of Hephaestus (3.229), at Od. 8.297 of the chains he forges. Hephaestus is also a link between the opening scene on Olympus and the arrival at the palace, since he made the bulls and the spring for Aeetes (3.221–34); cf. Thiel (1993), 116.

scenes are set in the house of Hephaestus and Aphrodite and mention Zeus' giving Aphrodite in marriage to Hephaestus (3.37–38, Od. 8.269–70, Od. 8.318–20), appropriately since marriage is on the minds of characters in both *Argonautica* 3 and *Odyssey* 6–8. Hera and Athena are among the goddesses whose modesty makes them stay at home in Demodocus' song (Od. 8.324), but in the *Argonautica* they come out to see Aphrodite, and her acknowledgment that they have not been in the habit of visiting her (3.53–54) could be a veiled reference to the incident in the song.

Now the two goddesses take positive action. When the scene is read in the light of *Odyssey* 8, Hera's reference to Ixion (3.61–62), whose sexual desire for a goddess caused him to be bound in chains, becomes (as well as an assertion of Hera's affection for Jason) a pointed hint at Aphrodite's own past humiliation; Ixion is not the only one to have suffered this fate. While Aphrodite is enlisted to help the Argonauts, the gods who work against her in the song will be associated with the Colchians. Hephaestus has made the bronze bulls which Jason must overcome for Helios, the father of Aeetes (3.228–34) and the Sun-god has in the past done a favour for Hephaestus, as he does in the *Odyssey* (3.233–34, Od. 8.270–71).

The light-hearted mood of Demodocus' song, with humour at Aphrodite's expense,[311] characterises the opening scene of Book 3. In the *Odyssey*, Aphrodite seems untroubled by the discovery of her love affair (Od. 8.362–66) and the gods make jokes at Hephaestus' expense (Od. 8.334–43); the easy life of the gods contrasts with Odysseus' hardships. Similarly, in *Argonautica* 3, Aphrodite has no more to worry about than arranging her hair and keeping her troublesome son under control, in contrast to the trials faced by the Argonauts in Colchis. The sexual irresponsibility of Aphrodite in the song hints that she is not now going to be concerned about preserving family ties.

However, in this case the relationship of events on Olympus to events on earth is more direct in the *Argonautica* than in the *Odyssey*. The actions of the gods on Olympus are in the *Odyssey* inset into the main narrative, told for human entertainment at a feast and accompanied by dancing; in the equivalent scene in the *Argonautica* the gods decide to control events on earth by direct intervention, a rare occurrence in the poem. Now it is the gods who will 'create' the deeds

---

[311] We expect to find Aphrodite in an embarrassing position when Hera and Athena arrive because of the allusions to *Odyssey* 8 (cf. Lennox (1980), 50).

of mortals, rather than having their own actions created by a bard.

Another part of the Phaeacian episode is alluded to in Hera's speech to Aphrodite (3.87–89, Od. 6.313–15, Od. 8.281) (pp. 257–58). There is another echo of Demodocus' song;[312] this is not especially significant in itself, but reinforces the other allusions to the song earlier in the scene. The resemblance to Od. 6.313–15 likens Medea's help to Arete's. In both *Argonautica* and *Odyssey* a female member of the royal family will be sympathetic to the stranger and enable him to return home.

Both *Argonautica* 3 and *Odyssey* 6 open with Greeks concealed in the countryside, having arrived there at the end of the previous book.[313] The first scene shows a goddess setting in motion a plan to have the daughter of the ruler of the land help the visitors, then the action moves back to these visitors. As the Argonauts decide to venture towards the city of Aeetes, Apollonius draws heavily on a later part of the episode, Odysseus' walk to Alcinous' city (3.210–29, Od. 7.14–143) (pp. 258–59).

The parallels to *Odyssey* 7 are immediately clear. The action of a hundred or so Homeric lines is compressed into twenty, as Jason and his companions arrive at the city, concealed by mist,[314] and admire the palace. In Homer, the mist surrounds Odysseus as he passes though the city to the palace; Athena first enfolds him in it at Od. 7.14–17, we are reminded of it at Od. 7.41–42 and it is finally dispersed when Odysseus supplicates Arete at Od. 7.143. In Apollonius the mist prevents the Argonauts from being seen as they approach the city,[315] but they arrive at the city and the palace together (3.213), at which point the mist disperses.[316] The purpose of the mist also differs slightly; in the *Odyssey* it prevents Odysseus from being pestered by Phaeacians who might anticipate Alcinous' question about his identity (Od. 7.16–

---

[312] Cf. Lennox (1980), 59 and n. 31.

[313] There is one verbal echo: the identical ending of 2.1280 and Od. 5.416.

[314] First described as ἀήρ as in Homer (3.211, cf. Od. 7.15, Od. 7.140), then as a νέφος (3.214).

[315] The Lemnian women watch Jason approach the city; this is implied in the simile (1.774–81, cf. Clausing (1913), 46–47).

[316] 3.211 and 3.213 seem to be inconsistent; Hunter on 3.210–14 suggests corruption or that the incoherence may have been unnoticed by Apollonius. M. Campbell, "Three Notes on Alexandrine Poetry," *Hermes* 102 (1974), 42–44, emends 3.211. Assuming τοῖσι . . . νισομένοις 'as they went' is dative of advantage, there is ambiguity about whether the mist surrounds the Argonauts or the Colchians (the latter is preferred by Vian N.C. on 3.214 and reflects Zenodotus' interpretation of Od. 7.211). My interpretation assumes that 3.213 is sound; if Apollonius is being deliberately unclear it would be appropriate to the subject matter.

17),[317] though there is a hint in κερτομέοι 'challenge' and μεγαθύμων 'proud' that their reaction to him might be hostile. In the *Argonautica* it hides the Argonauts from being seen by the Colchians (3.212), which implies that just to be seen by the Colchians is risky.[318]

Since Apollonius often varies Homeric narrative technique, we do not have to assume that the Argonauts have not passed through the gate when the interior of the compound is described, simply because that is what happens in *Odyssey* 7;[319] it is more in keeping with Apollonius' interest in eliminating Homeric anomalies and in narrating events from the viewpoint of the participants for parts of the palace to be described as they come into the view of the Argonauts.[320] In both poets, the description moves from the walls (3.215–17, Od. 7.86–87) up to the coping stone (3.217–18, Od. 7.87) as if following the eye of the viewer upwards.

One sign that Aeetes' palace is more magnificent than Alcinous' is that it has four springs rather than two (3.221–27, Od. 7.129–31), springs which magically flow with different liquids rather than simply flowing in different directions;[321] in Book 4, Alcinous' palace apparently does not have any. The section describing Aeetes' garden also recalls Calypso's home (Od. 5.69–74), where there are vines and four springs, again all of water; the alternating heat and cold of the spring of water also alludes to the double spring of the Scamander at Il. 22.147–52. The springs are thus associated with one of Odysseus' lovers and with the build-up to a climactic encounter in the *Iliad*.

τεθηπότες 'astounded' (3.215) uses a stronger verb than θαύμαζεν 'wondered' (Od. 7.43);[322] the transitive use of the verb may have been suggested by Od. 6.168 where it may be taken transitively.[323] In this

[317] On the reasons for concealing Odysseus from the Phaeacians, cf. Lang (1969), 163 n. 3.

[318] Cf. Medea's dangerous gaze (3.885–86).

[319] Hunter on 3.215–41 notes the contrast with the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus sees both the outside and the inside of the palace from the outside. Cf. also Il. 6.242–50 (James (1981), 65). For a recent comparison of the two scenes, cf. Thiel (1993), 106–25.

[320] This is the view of Vian, N.C. on 3.217, and an example of embedded focalisation; for Homeric examples in arrival-scenes, cf. De Jong (1987), 107–10.

[321] On the literary sources of the springs, cf. Hunter on 3.221–27; the Dionysiac procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus (probably in the 270's) included a representation of springs of milk and wine (Athenaeus 5.200C, cf. E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford: 1983) 82).

[322] Cf. Hunter on 3.215.

[323] This is suggested by Ardizzoni on 3.215; the word appears in the same metrical position. Another Odyssean precedent is Od. 24.392.

latter passage Odysseus is admiring Nausicaa; it is his first contact with the Phaeacians, just as the Argonauts here are about to face the Colchians for the first time. The order of events is reversed in the *Argonautica* as the visitors visit the king before they meet his daughter on her own, whereas in the *Odyssey* Nausicaa meets Odysseus first.[324] Like Nausicaa, Medea sees the stranger before any of her countrymen do, in a meeting arranged by divine intervention (3.248–52).[325]

After passing over the threshold of Alcinous' palace, Odysseus walks through it till he finds the queen. The Argonauts cross the threshold of Aeetes' palace at 3.219, then spend some time in the courtyard, where they admire more features (amplified by digressions on the bulls (3.230–34) and on Apsyrtus (3.242–46)). Here they meet Chalciope and Medea; Aeetes and Eiduia then appear and a meal is prepared (3.248–74).

The scene in the courtyard is an opportunity to introduce background information and characters who will become important later; there is no counterpart to it in *Odyssey* 6–8. In Homer, Odysseus' movements are precisely described; in Apollonius, we are told about those of Eros (3.278, 3.280, he then crouches by Jason in the hall and leaves at 3.285–86), but not about those of the Argonauts. Apollonius mentions the washing and feeding of the heroes (3.299–301), but the locations of these activities are not specified, though they presumably eat in the main hall of the palace. The Odyssean background suggests the details of the setting in which Argus, Aeetes and Jason converse, substituting for the description of it which Apollonius has omitted. The strong similarities to the Phaeacian city and palace also reinforce the association between Aeetes and Alcinous which was suggested by Argus' remarks in Book 2; the subsequent contrasts between Aeetes and Alcinous become all the more striking.

The preparation of the meal (3.270–74) recalls the sacrifice and meal in Alcinous' palace in Od. 8.59–61:

3.270 . . . τὸ δ' αὐτίκα πᾶν ὁμάδοιο
ἕρκος ἐπεπλήθει·
(In an instant the whole court was filled with noise.)

---

[324] Händel (1954), 97–99 contrasts the narrative technique of the two poets here, seeing the difference in Apollonius' use of different stages in the action and concentration on detail, as opposed to Homer's linear style. In this respect, Valerius' narrative is closer to Homer's (Arg. 5.329–617), with Medea conversing with the Argonauts before they meet her father.

[325] Athena (Od. 6.13–47), Hera (3.250).

Od. 8.57 πλῆντο δ' ἄρ' αἴθουσαί τε καὶ ἕρκεα καὶ δόμοι ἀνδρῶν
(. . . and the porticoes and courts and rooms were filled with the multitude.)

In the *Argonautica* the victim is a bull rather than sheep, pigs and oxen, and is not said to be sacrificed before being eaten. Aeetes' implied disregard for the ritual aspect of banqueting sets the tone for his abusive treatment of his visitors in the following scene, in total contrast to Alcinous' friendliness to Odysseus.

Another ritual action, Odysseus' supplication of Arete (Od. 7.142–54), has no equivalent in this scene; the Odyssean passage is transferred to Medea's supplication of Arete in Book 4 (pp. 250–51). Later on, the serious questioning of the visitors begins. Both conversations take place after the visitors have eaten (3.299–301,[326] Od. 7.136–38, Od. 7.172–77) and the servants have finished their work (3.299, Od. 7.232). The numbers of people involved on each side in these conversations are reversed, as Odysseus confronts Arete and Alcinous on his own, whereas Jason and Argus share the burden of approaching Aeetes, who is the only Colchian who speaks. There are thematic and structural parallels between the conversations in both epics (starting in the *Odyssey* at Od. 7.236 when Odysseus is left alone with Arete and Alcinous). The similarities can be partially accounted for by Apollonius' use of the pattern used for such a 'typical scene' in Homer,[327] though the extent and nature of the resemblance indicates that the conversation in the *Argonautica* is to be read in the light of the one in the *Odyssey*.

Aeetes' opening questions of the sons of Phrixus (3.304–16) recall Arete's (Od. 7.237–39) (though the mention of familiarity with the gods at 3.309–13 also recalls Alcinous' words in his opening speech to the Phaeacians at Od. 7.201–6). Both express surprise at the unexpected appearance of the others; although Aeetes has no need to ask the identity of the sons of Phrixus, as Arete does with Odysseus, he wishes to know who their companions are (3.315–16). Arete, too, enquires about other people, those who gave Odysseus the clothes he is wearing, which she recognises (Od. 7.234–39).

Before the ruler of the land reveals his attitude to the visitors, someone from that land speaks on their behalf:

---

[326] The lines also recall Homeric meal formulae in general (cf. Hunter on 3.301).

[327] Cf. W. F. Hansen, *The Conference Sequence: Patterned Narration and Narrative Inconsistency in the Odyssey* (Berkeley: 1972) 48–52, though there is no speech of welcome or offer of possessions in Apollonius.

3.317 . . . κασιγνήτων προπάροιθεν
"Αργος, ὑποδδείσας ἀμφὶ στόλῳ Αἰσονίδαο,
μειλιχίως προσέειπεν, ἐπεὶ προγενέστερος ἦεν·
(. . . Argus was afraid for the expedition of the son of Aeson and sought to soothe Aeetes with his answer, speaking on behalf of his brothers, as he was the oldest.)
Od. 7.155 ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε γέρων ἥρως Ἐχένηος,
ὃς δὴ Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν προγενέστερος ἦεν. . . .
(. . . but after a while old Echenaus began to speak, an [aged] Phaeacian chieftain. . . .)

In his reply, the person questioned speaks of a shipwreck he suffered (3.320–23,[328] Od. 7.249–50, Od. 7.275–77), from which he was saved by an unspecified god (3.323, Od. 7.248–49, Od 7.254), by clinging to the wreckage (3.321, Od. 7.252), and tells of a fortunate meeting with someone who gave him clothing (3.326–31, Od. 7.290–96, cf. also Od. 7.238, Od. 6.209) (pp. 259–60).

The king's response is anger against a member of his family, Nausicaa (Od. 7.299–301) and Argus himself (3.372–81). This is replied to by a speech urging him to restrain his anger (3.386–95, Od. 7.303–7); in Apollonius the speaker changes, with Jason trying to be more diplomatic than Argus. Finally the king promises to give the stranger what he wants; the Fleece (3.401–21), or a return home (Od. 7.309–28). The visitor's reply shows he has doubts about whether he will succeed in obtaining this (3.427–31, Od. 7.331–33) and he is then sent away (3.432–42, Od. 7.340–43). Odysseus is offered a bed for the night, whereas Jason is simply dismissed and sent back to the ship, exemplifying the difference between Aeetes' and Alcinous' treatment of strangers.

Each speech in Apollonius' scene has points in common with one in *Odyssey* 7 which occurs in the equivalent place in the scene, with shared content and in some cases also verbal similarities, so that *Odyssey* 7 creates the underlying structure. The course of the conversation would be coherent even without the parallels from the *Odyssey*, but if it is read in the light of its Odyssean counterpart the differences in the response of Aeetes from that of Alcinous and Arete are emphasised.

During the banquet and conversation in Aeetes' palace the parallel between Medea and Nausicaa is also set up; both girls admire the

[328] 3.322 also recalls Od. 5.402 ποτὶ ξερὸν ἔκβαλε κῦμα 'a wave threw [us] on to dry land'/ῥόχθει γὰρ μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ ξερὸν 'for the heavy breakers dashed themselves on the solid coast'.

stranger towards the end of the first occasion they are able to look at him for any length of time (3.443–45, Od. 6.236–37) (p. 260). In the *Odyssey* Athena has just beautified Odysseus; we are not told that Hera has performed the same favour for Jason, though she does later when Jason meets Medea at the temple (3.919–23), where there is a further echo of Od. 6.236–37.[329]

After this encounter with their visitors, both Aeetes and Alcinous call an assembly to discuss how they should be treated (3.576–608, Od. 8.4–47). These are not 'democratic' assemblies, since the only speech is by the king, describing what he intends to do with the strangers.[330] Apollonius gives the speech of Aeetes in indirect speech (3.579–608), reminding the reader that the main thread of the narrative is with Argus, who is returning to the city as the assembly meets.[331] There is a twofold innovation compared with Homer: in the use of indirect speech and in the description of simultaneous events.

As with the scene in the palace, the similar structure and content of the assemblies bring out the differences in character between Alcinous and Aeetes. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is present, whereas the whole point of Aeetes' summoning of the Colchians is to reveal his hitherto secret intention not to let the Argonauts leave Colchis alive.

The assemblies both take place away from the palace (3.577, Od. 8.5) in a place regularly used for such gatherings:

3.576 αὐτίκα δ' Αἰήτης <u>ἀγορὴν</u> ποιήσατο Κόλχων
νόσφιν ἑοῖο δόμου, τόθι περ καὶ πρόσθε <u>κάθιζον</u>. . . .

(Aeetes lost no time in convening an assembly of the Colchians away from the palace, where they had always met in the past. . . .)

Od. 8.5 . . . <u>ἀγορήνδ'</u>, ἥ σφιν παρὰ νηυσὶ τέτυκτο.
ἐλθόντες δὲ <u>καθῖζον</u> ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοισι . . .

(. . . to the assembly-place by the ships. Having reached it, they sat down together on the smooth stones.)

---

[329] Cf. below, p. 237, 3.444–45 also recall two Homeric wives, Andromache and Penelope (Il. 22.406, Od. 1.334). On the word play here, cf. A. Ardizzoni, "Note critiche ed esegetiche sul testo di Apollonio Rodio," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* n.s. 34 (1956), 380–81.

[330] This is despite Alcinous' intention to involve the elders, declared at Od. 7.189–92 (cf. Lang (1969), 165); we would not expect Aeetes to be democratic! On the involvement of the *demos* in Homeric assemblies, cf. I. Morris, "The Use and Abuse of Homer," *Classical Antiquity* 5 (1986), 101–2.

[331] M. M. Gillies, *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius Book III* (Cambridge: 1928) xxxix finds the indirect speech 'prosaic and inartistic in the extreme'. On the experimentation with narrative technique here, cf. Fusillo (1985), 231–32, Hunter (1993), 147–48, P. H. Gummert, *Die Erzählstruktur in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (Frankfurt: 1992) 66–67.

The shared words are of course natural in this context; however, neither is used of the assembly in Apollonius' Phaeacian episode. Apollonius, unlike Homer (Od. 8.6–18), does not describe the Colchians arriving but comes straight to the point.

Both kings are anxious that their visitors should not remain with them much longer. They refer to hospitality they have shown in the past (to Phrixus at 3.584–88, to unnamed visitors at Od. 8.32–33). The Phaeacians offered hospitality generously, whereas Aeetes only provided it under duress, despite Phrixus' good character; the attitude of the gods differs strikingly, since Poseidon dislikes the Phaeacians' custom of taking visitors safely home, whereas Aeetes required a personal visit from Hermes (3.587–88) before he would welcome a foreigner.

The similarities between the two scenes further heighten the contrast between Alcinous and Aeetes; the nature of the kings' concern about the strangers could hardly differ more. Alcinous is prepared to take the risk of having his city destroyed to convey Odysseus safely home (Od. 8.564–71); Aeetes assumes that the Argonauts are plotting to overthrow him (3.589–93).

The use of the assembly in *Odyssey* 8 here contrasts with its relationship to the assembly scene in Apollonius' own Phaeacian episode in Book 4 (cf. p. 254). The Homeric scene falls into two parts, the gathering of those attending the meeting and Alcinous' speech; the gathering is prominent in Book 4, while Alcinous' speech is reported briefly, whereas the main similarity in Book 3 lies in the two speeches.

The lengthiest correspondence between *Odyssey* 6–8 and the *Argonautica* is that between the meeting of Jason and Medea and that of Nausicaa and Odysseus. The similarities between Medea and Nausicaa which have already been noted prepare for this extended allusion, as do the events of the night before the meeting. Both Medea's and Nausicaa's expeditions come about as the result of a dream (3.617–32, Od. 6.21–40); this is achieved more directly in the *Odyssey*, where Athena (disguised as Dymas' daughter) suggests the outing to Nausicaa, whereas in the *Argonautica* Medea's distress as a result of her dream causes one of her maids to fetch Chalciope, and the two sisters then plan the meeting with Jason. The dreams also differ, as Nausicaa's takes the common Homeric form of a god in disguise standing by the dreamer's bed and addressing him, but Medea's places her in an imaginary situation, similar to the real one, which both articulates

her desires[332] and predicts future events.[333] However, both dreams put thoughts of marriage or elopement into the dreamer's head (3.622–23, 3.630–31, Od. 6.27–28, Od. 6.33–35); Medea already has a particular suitor in mind; Nausicaa's hopes are more general. The contrasting reactions to the dreams set the tone for what will follow; Nausicaa wakes up naturally, when it gets light, and is amazed at her dream (Od. 6.48–49), whereas Medea wakes suddenly with a shriek[334] and is afraid (3.632–35).

It is left uncertain whether Medea's dream is sent by a god or not; its 'realism' is no argument against divine origin since dreams of all kinds were recognised in antiquity as possible communications from the gods.[335] Though there is no explicit indication of this, it would fit the pattern of Hera's influence on Medea's emotions for her to send the dream here. Whether we allow divine intervention or not, the nature of the dream and its uncertain origins still contrast with Homeric practice.[336]

Part of the simile describing Medea's distress after her dream also recalls Nausicaa, as she sets out:

3.658 οὐδέ τί πω πάσαις ἐπιμίσγεται ἀμφιπόλοισιν

(... she does not yet mix with all the maidservants....)

Od. 6.238 δή ῥα τότ' ἀμφιπόλοισιν ἐϋπλοκάμοισι μετηύδα· ...

240 οὐ πάντων ἀέκητι θεῶν, οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσι,

Φαιήκεσσ' ὅδ' ἀνὴρ ἐπιμίσγεται ἀντιθέοισι·'

(... then [Nausicaa] turned to her maidservants with their braided hair: '... It can only be by favour of all the Olympian gods that this man mixes with the godlike Phaeacians....')

---

332 Cf. Händel (1954), 106–7, A. Hurst, "Sur deux passages d'Apollonios de Rhodes," *MH* 23 (1966), 109, Gil Fernández (1971), 108–9. Nausicaa's dream does this too; cf. E. Lévy, "Le rêve homérique," *Ktèma* 7 (1982), 31.

333 On the combination of desire and prediction, cf. V. Bongi, "Apollonio Rodio, Virgilio ed Ennio," *Athenaeum* 24 (1946), 68–69, Händel (1954), 106, Kessels (1982), 158–61. Campbell, *Studies*, 37–38, plays down the prognostic element, but this disregards both the belief of antiquity that dreams could be prophetic, and Apollonius' use of foreshadowing as a narrative device (cf. Duckworth (1933), 48).

334 I assume that κλαγγῇ refers to Medea; if it refers to the Colchians in her dream (as W.-H. Friedrich, "Ennius-Erklärungen," *Philologus* 97 (1948), 288 takes it), the effect is still different from Homer, since Medea is awakened not by dawn (as is Nausicaa) or by another external event, but by her dream.

335 Cf. R. G. A. van Lieshout, *Greeks on Dreams* (Utrecht: 1980), especially ch. 3.

336 Händel (1954), 107, denies divine involvement, but Campbell, *Studies*, 37–38 believes that Hera acts here. Valerius (Arg. 6.477–601) is more 'Homeric' since Juno appears to Medea disguised as Chalciope.

In both poems the girl tells a close member of her family of the concerns aroused by her dream (Chalciope 3.688–92, Alcinous Od. 6.57–65) but omits its sexual content because of αἰδώς 'shame' (3.681–86, esp. 3.681–82 αἰδὼς παρθενίη κατέρυκεν 'maidenly shame held her back', Od. 6.66–67 esp. αἴδετο . . . γάμον ἐξονομῆναι 'she was ashamed to speak directly about marriage');[337] the importance of αἰδώς for Medea is emphasised by the word's being used emphatically at line-beginning in lines 3.649, 3.653, and 3.659.[338] However, the reason for this modesty differs; Medea feels guilty about her traitorous feelings for Jason,[339] whereas Nausicaa is simply embarrassed at speaking of marriage to her father.[340] Alcinous guesses what lies behind Nausicaa's words (Od. 6.67) and presumably approves, since he lets her have the use of a mule-cart; Medea's father must not be allowed to suspect even the concern for her nephews which cloaks Medea's feelings for Jason (3.736–37), nor must Chalciope know of those feelings.[341] Medea is frightened at even the thought of disobeying her father (3.741–43), and confides in her sister rather than a parent (unlike Nausicaa), recalling pairs of sisters in tragedy, though she also sees Chalciope as a mother (3.732–35), replacing her own mother who only appears at 3.269–70. The setting for the confession of the dream is very different; Nausicaa finds her father as he is leaving the palace for a meeting of the council (Od. 6.53–55), but Medea's attempts to leave her room fail and Chalciope comes to find her there (3.645–72).

Chalciope's arrival also echoes the earlier visit of Athena to Nausicaa's room (3.670–72, Od. 6.15–16) (p. 260). Athena comes to give the dream, Chalciope as a result of it. As with the conversation in the palace and the assembly, the verbal similarity points to a great difference in mood and emotion between the scene and its model.

As Medea leaves her home to go to the temple, a series of extended verbal parallels with *Odyssey* 6 begins (3.838–74, 3.1152–54, Od. 6.18–84, Od. 6.316–318) (pp. 260–61). Medea's mode of transport is the same as Nausicaa's, a mule-cart, and they both have maids

---

[337] Kessels (1982), 159 notes that both girls leave out 'indications of personal involvement' but not that this involvement is sexual.

[338] Cf. Ardizzoni on 3.659.

[339] Campbell, *Studies*, 44. This is expressed most clearly in her monologues at 3.636–44 and 3.771–801.

[340] On Nausicaa's combination of modesty and forwardness, cf. T. Van Nortwick, "Penelope and Nausicaa," *TAPA* 109 (1979), 270–72.

[341] On Medea's deception of Chalciope in this scene, cf. Margolies (1981), 174–78.

to help, but, even allowing for the similarity of subject matter, there are echoes in word order, position of words in the line and the choice of phrases (indicated in the quotations), which vividly recall the Homeric scene. Apollonius draws on both Nausicaa's outward journey (which in narrative terms is the equivalent of Medea's setting out) and her return. Later, the repetition of the second half of 3.869 at 3.1152, a rare Apollonian gesture towards formularity,[342] and the further echoes of *Odyssey* 6 as Medea returns[343] reinforce the parallel between the two episodes, by shared vocabulary and the use of a characteristically Homeric stylistic device.

Both girls have maids stationed by their bedroom door (3.838–40, cf. 3.664–66, Od. 6.18–19). Medea is accompanied by twelve maids (3.838);[344] the number who go with Nausicaa is unspecified. Apollonius substitutes the detail that they are Medea's own age and unmarried (3.840) for Homer's mention of their beauty (Od. 6.18); this detail reminds us that Medea will soon leave the life of an unmarried girl behind.

There are minor variations in detail. It is Medea's maids who run rather than the mules (3.872–74, Od. 6.318). As often, Apollonius varies his vocabulary by using ἱμάσθλη 'whip' for μάστιξ (the related verb ἵμασεν 'whipped' occurs at Od. 6.316), and πείρινς 'wicker chassis', which does not occur in the Odyssean passage.[345] There are no non-Homeric words in 3.836–46 and 3.868–78 and the compound adjectives εὐποίητος 'well-made' and περικαλλής 'very beautiful' also recall Homeric style. There are also echoes of scenes in the *Iliad* where warriors mount their chariots;[346] this prepares for the 'martial' allusions in the actual meeting of Jason and Medea. Thus subject matter, vocabulary and stylistic features encourage the reader to think of the *Odyssey*. The extensive echoes of the Homeric scene, concentrating on the practicalities of harnessing and driving the cart, create a cheerful mood,[347] following the description of Medea's excitement at 3.819–23 and 3.835–36, though it is darkened by Medea's recent

[342] Cf. M. G. Ciani, "Ripetizione 'Formulare' in Apollonio Rodio," *Bolletino dell' Istituto di Filologia Greca* 2 (1975), 195–96.

[343] The infinitive of ἐλαύνω 'drive' (3.1154) did not appear on her outward journey.

[344] Some reasons for the number are suggested by Fränkel, *Noten*, 393.

[345] Händel (1954), 111 n. 1 contrasts the explicit description in Homer with Apollonius' brevity, though the harnessing of the cart only takes two lines in Homer (Od. 6.72–73).

[346] E.g. 3.869/Il. 8.44, 3.871/Il. 13.25–26.

[347] Cf. S. Eitrem, "La magie comme motif littéraire chez les grecs et les romains," *Symbolae Osloenses* 21 (1941), 80.

thoughts of suicide (cf. 3.836–37) and by the description of the Prometheion (3.844–68), a very different load from Nausicaa's dirty washing.

Medea's journey is also linked to a later stage in the Odyssean scene by one of the most unmistakeable allusions in the entire *Argonautica* (3.876–87, Od. 6.102–110) (pp. 261–62). The resemblance of the two similes is well known, being noticed even by the scholiast,[348] with strong verbal echoes, especially at 3.881/Od. 6.105, which combine with internal echoes of Apollonius' own Hylas episode.[349] The location in the narrative is transferred to the journey; in the *Odyssey* the simile was used of Nausicaa and her maids as they play games after arriving. This change is reflected in Artemis' physical position; now she, like Medea, is riding in a wheeled vehicle (3.878), and it is the chariot which raises her above her companions rather than her physical height as in the *Odyssey*. Both similes give a selection of places visited by Artemis (3.876–77, Od. 6.103). In Homer the goddess is hunting but in Apollonius she is going to receive a sacrifice,[350] ap-

---

[348] Σ ad 3.876 παραγράφει δὲ τὰ ἐν 'Οδυσσείᾳ 'he imitates the *Odyssey*'; Apollonius' scholiasts are not normally sensitive to allusion to Homer. Cf. Beye (1982), 121, Campbell, *Studies*, 56–58, Fusillo (1985), 339. Clausing (1913), 31–32 sees the simile as an example of Apollonius' creating a simile which is more closely parallel to the narrative than Homer's, though he does not note the resemblance of Jason to the worshippers or that of the Colchians to animals. Carspecken (1952), 79–80 sees the influence of art in the spatial grouping in Apollonius.

[349] 1.1226 αἱ μὲν ὅσαι σκοπιὰς ὀρέων λάχον ἢ καὶ ἐναύλους,
αἵ γε μὲν ὑληωροὶ ἀπόπροθεν ἐστιχόωντο·
ἡ δὲ νέον κρήνης ἀνεδύετο καλλινάοιο
Νύμφη ἐφυδατίη.

(Some were nymphs of the mountain peaks and the glades; others were forest-nymphs who had come from far away. The nymph of the spring, however, was just rising from the fair-flowing water. . . .)

3.881 τῇ δ' ἅμα Νύμφαι ἕπονται ἀμορβάδες, αἱ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
ἀγρόμεναι πηγῆς 'Αμνισίδος, αἱ δὲ λιποῦσαι
ὕλσεα καὶ σκοπιὰς πολυπίδακας·

(. . . with her go her companion nymphs, some gathering from the very spring of Amnisos, others leaving the groves and the mountain peaks with their many streams. . . .)

πηγῆς (3.882) and πολυπίδακας (3.883) remind the reader of the setting in Book 1. In both passages nymphs leave a variety of haunts to honour Artemis (1.1226–27, 3.881–83); the place of origin of the nymphs is not found in *Odyssey* 6. On 'Αμνισίδος and Callimachus, hy. 3.15, cf. E. Eichgrün, *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios* (Berlin: 1961) 114–15; the earlier episode also involves someone falling in love with a handsome young man, and as a result one of the couple is separated from their companions and the way of life they have hitherto known (Beye (1982), 93). In the Hylas episode the lone nymph is contrasted with her dancing companions (1.1226–29) just as Medea is contrasted with her maids (3.871–75) and Artemis in the simile is with her attendant nymphs (3.881–83).

[350] In Virgil's adaptation (Aen. 1.498–504) Diana's hunting is indicated only by

propriately since Medea is going to visit a temple of Hecate, who is traditionally identified with Artemis.[351] Jason, like the worshippers whose existence is implied at 3.880, wishes Medea to show favour to him and help him, and offers in return not a hecatomb but the promise of a life with him in Greece. The animals, an addition, correspond to the submissive Colchians; Apollonius adds to Homer in both simile and narrative, in the way Virgil does when he adapts this simile (Aen. 1.498–504),[352] though this particular element is not found in Virgil. There are troubling undercurrents in the simile which are absent from its Homeric counterpart where the mood is joyful (Od. 6.104 τερπομένη 'delighting in', Od. 6.106 παίζουσι 'they play', γέγηθε 'is glad'). Artemis has just been bathing—a dangerous time for mortals to see her[353]—and the Colchians avoid Medea's eye (3.886).

The lines from *Odyssey* 6 describing Odysseus' attractiveness which were echoed in the scene in the palace are used again. In the *Odyssey*, the beautification of Odysseus comes while he is bathing, during his encounter with Nausicaa; in the *Argonautica* Hera attends to Jason's appearance while he is still travelling to meet Medea (3.919–25, Od. 6.229–237) (pp. 262–63). In each case the goddess who performs the change is described in terms of her relationship to Zeus, perhaps suggesting that the will of Zeus is behind these events. Hera is not named directly, but the designation of her as Διὸς δάμαρ 'wife of Zeus' is appropriate[354] as marriage will be discussed in the coming scene.[355]

In the *Odyssey*, the physical details of the transformation are prominent, with a description of the change in Odysseus' size and the effect on his hair, head and shoulders. The change in Jason is expressed by a comparison (not a simile, as in Od. 6.232–34) and a

---

her wearing a quiver. Like Apollonius, he includes places visited by Artemis (Aen. 1.498).

[351] Cf. W. Burkert, trans. J. Raffan, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Oxford: 1985) 171.

[352] Cf. West (1969), 43–44.

[353] Cf. the fate of Acteon (Call. h. 5.107–16).

[354] Hera is thus described at 4.959 at the Clashing Rocks, just before the wedding. She is Ζηνὸς ἄκοιτις 'bedfellow of Zeus' (1.997) at Cyzicus where the new marriage of Cyzicus and Cleite is prominent (Cleite is ἄκοιτις at 1.974) and the sexual etymology is appropriate; also at 4.382 where Medea reminds Jason of his promises, including marriage (4.368), and 4.1152 in the wedding scene. She is Διὸς εὐνέτις 'bedfellow of Zeus' at 4.96 when Jason promises to marry Medea. As often, what is apparently a sign of sophistication in Apollonius (in this case, the significant choice of designation for Hera) is actually reproducing a Homeric technique; cf. I. J. F. de Jong, "Studies in Homeric Denomination," *Mnemosyne* 4 ser. 46 (1993), 289–306.

[355] On the parallels with wedding ritual in Medea's preparations, cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 58–59.

vague reference to χάριτες 'graces' (3.925) which corresponds to Od. 6.237;[356] as there, a verb meaning 'to shine' is used. Both Jason and Odysseus are compared to gods or to the children of gods (3.920–21, Od. 6.243), mirroring the Artemis-like Nausicaa and Medea. Significantly, the improvement in Jason also affects his powers of speech (3.923), something he will need in dealing with Medea. Both Jason and Odysseus are persuasive talkers in this scene, as elsewhere in the poem (3.974, Od. 6.146, Od. 6.148),[357] and use this skill to win the girl over.

At this point it is not Medea who admires the transformed Jason, but his companions (3.924–25). Medea's admiration has already been described at 3.444–45, another passage which recalls Od. 6.229–237. The allusion to Nausicaa's reaction suggests to the reader how Medea will feel on seeing Jason. The transformation of Odysseus is one of a number of changes which Athena makes to his appearance, for better or for worse, and Nausicaa recognises that the change has taken place (Od. 6.242–43). Medea is in no state to notice that Hera has beautified Jason, and is thus deceived by his appearance.

A little later a parallel between Aphrodite and Athena is suggested in a similarity between Mopsus' reaction to the crow's words and Athena's speech to Nausicaa:

3.941 μάλα δ' ἠπίῃ ἀντιβολήσεις
Κύπριδος ἐννεσίῃς, ἥ τοι συνέριθος ἀέθλων
ἔσσεται. . . .

('She will be very accommodating to your request thanks to Kypris who will help you in the challenges. . . .')

Od. 6.32 καί τοι ἐγὼ συνέριθος ἅμ' ἕψομαι, ὄφρα τάχιστα
ἐντύνεαι, ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι ἔτι δὴν παρθένος ἔσσεαι·

('I will come with you myself to help, and then the task will be done the sooner. You will not remain unwedded long. . . .')

συνέριθος 'helper' is a *hapax legomenon* in Homer. Mopsus believes that Aphrodite is helping Jason in the same way as the Homeric Athena helped Odysseus, although Apollonius says that it is Hera, the true analogue to Homer's Athena, who intervenes at this point

---

[356] Apollonius has only χαρίτεσσιν for dative plural, in 3.444, 3.925 and in the Hylas episode (1.1230), a passage resembling both the meeting of Jason and Medea and *Odyssey* 6. The dative plural of the common noun occurs in Homer only at Od. 6.237 as χάρισι; Χαρίτεσσι appears as a proper name (Il. 17.51).

[357] Cf. Beye (1982), 139.

(3.922, 3.931).[358] After this, there is little close verbal resemblance between the scenes, but since the reader has been alerted to the similarities between them by the extensive allusions which have been made before Jason and Medea meet, Apollonius can continue to exploit those similarities without recalling the Homeric scene by close verbal parallels.

In both scenes the girl and her maids play games before she sees the strange man (3.948–55, Od. 6.99–117), actions which contrast with the serious purpose for which they have left the city. In Homer the washing is done first (Od. 6.90–95), whereas in Apollonius the girls begin by playing and Medea speaks dishonestly about what is going to happen (3.891–911). Nausicaa plays ball but we are not told what games Medea and her maids play (3.949–50 implies that there are more than one), though they are described as μολπή at 3.950 as at Od. 6.101.[359] In both scenes the appearance of the man is preceded by carelessness and lack of concentration on the part of the leader of the party (3.951–53, Od. 6.115–17). Odysseus startles Nausicaa, but Medea's anticipation of Jason's arrival is the cause of her distracted state of mind.

Certain speeches in the two scenes are comparable. Both conversations open with a long speech by the man with the purpose of putting the girl at her ease. These speeches are of similar length (3.975–1007 = 33 lines, Od. 6.149–85 = 37 lines), and end with the prospect that the gods will bless the girl (3.1005–6, Od. 6.180–82); Jason more persuasively, but ultimately deceitfully, phrases this as a promise rather than a prayer. Jason's words also recall some phrases used by or of Odysseus in *Odyssey* 7 (3.985–87, Od. 7.24, Od. 7.164–65) (p. 263). The visitor supplicates the girl (3.987–88, Od. 6.145–48), though neither action is a supplication in the strict sense, with the suppliant holding the other's knees. Jason uses suppliancy as one of several lines of persuasion in his speech to Medea (3.986–88),

---

[358] Hunter on 3.942 believes it is not important to assign divine responsibility exactly here.

[359] The meaning of μολπή was disputed in antiquity, the dispute centring on whether the word could refer to music. Apollonius' vagueness may reflect this discussion; cf. S. West, *A commentary on Homer's Odyssey* v. 1 (Oxford: 1988) on Od. 1.152. Alternatively, it may make the reader experience Medea's own state of mind; she is so preoccupied with the impending arrival of Jason that she is not aware of what game they are playing (in the other imitation of this Homeric passage, the simile at 4.948–52, the point depends on its being a ball game).

echoing the earlier appeal of Medea's nephews to him (2.1131–33), and Nausicaa's words to her maids at Od. 6.207–8 (p. 263).

Both girls tell the visitor to bathe (3.1030, Od. 6.210):[360]

3.1030 ἀκαμάτοιο ῥοῇσι λοεσσάμενος ποταμοῖο. . . .
('Bathe in the streams of a river which is never still. . . .')
Od. 6.216 ἤνωγον δ' ἄρα μιν λοῦσθαι ποταμοῖο ῥοῇσι.
(They told him to bathe in the streams of the river.)

They also give him something with which to anoint himself (3.1042–45, Od. 6.215–27). Jason follows these instructions some time after being given them, and afterwards, like Odysseus, he is more impressive (3.1043–45, 3.1256–58, Od. 6.229–37). This bathing is done out of view of other people (3.1031, 3.1197–98, 3.1201–4, Od. 6.217–223), in contrast to the occasional epic practice of men being bathed by women.[361] Though the purpose of the bath apparently differs (washing off blood and sea-water in the *Odyssey*, ritual purification in the *Argonautica*) the difference may not have seemed so great to Apollonius; Odysseus' bath has been interpreted as a ritual act.[362]

Towards the end of the scene, Medea's appeal to Jason to remember her and his reply draw on Nausicaa's last conversation with Odysseus in a later scene in the *Odyssey* (3.1069–130, Od. 8.461–68) (pp. 263–64).[363] Medea and Nausicaa both hope that their visitor will remember them (3.1069–71, 3.1109–10, Od. 8.461–62), citing the help they have given him as a reason (3.1116, Od. 8.462). The visitor expresses his desire to return home at 3.1080–81 and Od. 8.465–66; Medea and Nausicaa are assured that when he does they will be continually remembered (3.1079–80, Od. 8.467–68). Jason promises respect and divine honours for Medea, as Odysseus does for Nausicaa (3.1124, Od. 8.467–68), but not from himself but from the relatives of the Argonauts (3.1123–7), possibly foreshadowing his own later rejection of her.

---

[360] The only other lines in Homer comparable to Od. 6.216 are Il. 16.669 and Il. 16.679. The adjective ἀκάματος 'untiring' applied to the river is unusual (Homer only uses it of fire, though Hesiod extends its usage to parts of the body and μένος) hinting at the strength the washing will give Jason (the same adjective is used of a ploughman, and by implication of Jason, in an indication of time (3.1343), as Jason is carrying out the ordeal for which Medea now prepares him).

[361] Cf. Od. 3.464 (with Stanford ad loc.) and R. Ginouvès, *Βαλανευτική: recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris: 1962) 161–62.

[362] Cf. C. Segal, "Transition and Ritual in Odysseus' Return," *La Parola del Passato* 22 (1967), 329–32.

[363] Paduano (1972), 195 n. 53 in noting this calls *Odyssey* 6–8 a 'matrice globale'; cf. also Pavlock (1990), 62.

Both Medea and Nausicaa cherish hopes of marrying the Greek which they do not express directly to him;[364] Jason promises to fulfil Medea's hopes at lines 3.1128–30, a promise which is honoured when Jason marries Medea on Drepane, the scene of Odysseus' meeting with Nausicaa. Medea's hopes have been made clear in her dream though she is reluctant to express them, even to herself, and must drop heavy hints to Jason. Nausicaa, on the other hand, is prepared to reveal her feelings to her maids (Od. 6.244–45). Aristarchus deleted these lines on the grounds of impropriety, thinking that an open admission of sexual feelings by an unmarried girl was inappropriate; later authors debated Nausicaa's character on the basis of this passage.[365] This type of criticism may lie behind Medea's reticence here, though the reader already knows her feelings clearly enough.[366]

The relationship of this part of Jason's and Medea's meeting to Nausicaa's farewell to Odysseus is not straightforward; it is complicated by Medea's request to hear more about Greece (3.1071–76) and by the duplication of her request to be remembered (3.1069–70, 3.1109–1111). The meeting of Jason and Medea is also linked to the other passage in which the Odyssean scene is recalled, Jason's farewell to Hypsipyle;[367] this raises the possibility that one day Jason will leave Medea behind as he did Hypsipyle and as Odysseus did Nausicaa. The greater length of the scene in the *Argonautica* illustrates the awkwardness which Jason and Medea feel once the immediate business of handing over the Prometheion has been accomplished; by contrast both Odysseus and Nausicaa know where they stand with the other and can say all that is needed in a few words.[368]

Both poets use 'Iliadic' battle similes to describe the confrontation between man and girl: the lion simile used of Odysseus (Od. 6.130–34)[369] and the star simile used of Jason (3.956–59), which adapts a specific Iliadic model, Achilles' approach to Hector at Il. 22.26–32.[370]

---

[364] On the contrast between Nausicaa's resignation and Medea's forwardness, cf. G. Huber, *Lebensschilderung und Kleinmalerei im hellenistischen Epos* (Solothurn: 1926) 84–85.

[365] Cf. Σ^{HQ} ad Od. 6.244 (Σ^{ET} ad Od. 6.244, deriving from Ephorus, excuses her because of the Phaeacians' luxury); cf. also E. E. Sikes, *The Greek View of Poetry* (London: 1931) 166–68.

[366] Nausicaa's modesty is compared to Medea's by Huber (1926), 77–83.

[367] Cf. Phinney (1963) 98 n. 25, Clauss (1993), 143–44.

[368] On Odysseus' partings with Circe and Calypso, and the satisfying brevity of his farewell to Nausicaa, cf. Griffin (1980), 58–61.

[369] On this simile, cf. Fränkel (1921), 70, Lonsdale (1990), 17 and n. 29. On the martial aspect of 3.956–59, cf. Beye (1982), 137.

[370] Cf. Goldhill (1991), 306–7.

Medea makes Jason's *aristeia* possible, just as Achilles' triumph comes in killing Hector. The harmful aspect which Achilles and Jason share with the star is also relevant; the ironic humour of the use of 'battle' material in the *Odyssey* to describe a potentially sexual encounter is replaced by a sense of foreboding. Another simile which has been transferred from a martial to an amatory context is the simile of the trees shortly afterwards at 3.967–71, which recalls Il. 12.132–36.

Finally, some phrases which describe Medea's preparation of Jason for his ordeal recall the athletic contest in *Odyssey* 8 (3.788–89, Od. 8.21–22, 3.1043–44, Od. 8.136–37, 3.1057, Od. 8.186–87, Od. 8.192) (p. 264). Athena beautifies Odysseus and strengthens him for his physical trials, whereas Jason's strength comes from Medea's drugs (3.1256–58, Od. 8.18–23). Jason's strength is comparable to Odysseus', and like Odysseus, he has to throw a stone in the course of demonstrating his physical prowess.

There is possibly an echo of the opening of events in Scheria as Jason goes to perform the ritual which will make him invulnerable:

3.1194 ... <u>αὐτὰρ Ἰήσων</u> ...
3.1197 <u>βῆ ῥ' ἐς</u> ἐρημαίην, κλωπήιος ἠύτε τις φώρ,
(Not Jason, however.... he went to an empty place, like a furtive thief....)
Od. 6.2 ... <u>αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη</u>
<u>βῆ ῥ' ἐς</u> Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε·
(But Athena went to the land and the city of the Phaeacians....)

Athena helps Odysseus throughout the episode as Hecate helps Jason here (both are described as δεινὴ θεός 'dread goddess': 3.1213, Od. 7.41). However, the methods the goddesses use are very different, since Athena visits the city of the Phaeacians and helps Odysseus unbidden, whereas Jason has to go away from habitation and perform his ritual and invocation in secret. The main model for this scene is of course *Odyssey* 10–11, but the allusions to the Phaeacian episode emphasise the differences between Hecate and Athena, and the contrast in the methods which Jason and Odysseus have to use to obtain what they need.

The only direct allusion in Jason's ordeal itself is at the end, referring to the end of the day on which the Phaeacian games take place:

3.1407 <u>ἦμαρ ἔδυ, καὶ τῷ</u> τετελεσμένος <u>ἦεν</u> ἄεθλος.
(Nightfall came, and Jason's task was at an end.)
Od. 8.417 <u>δύσετό</u> τ' <u>ἠέλιος, καὶ τῷ</u> κλυτὰ δῶρα <u>παρῆεν</u>·
(It was sunset now; the precious gifts stood ready before [him]....)

Unlike Odysseus, Jason is not given the gifts he deserves.[371]

The remaining events in Colchis at the beginning of Book 4 do not recall the Phaeacian episode, except that both Colchis and Scheria have a sacred grove which the Greek hero visits (ἱερὸν ἄλσος ἵκοντο 'they reached the sacred grove' 4.123, cf. Od. 6.321–22) and which he leaves, avoiding the gaze of the land's inhabitants (4.181–82, cf. Od. 7.16–17). As throughout Book 3, the verbal similarities only show up the differences between Jason's experiences and Odysseus'.

The borrowings from the *Odyssey*'s Phaeacian episode are mostly derived from Odysseus' arrival at the palace and his meeting with Nausicaa, incidents which are not used as material for Apollonius' own Phaeacian episode in Book 4. Although the Phaeacian assembly, which is used in Book 4, is also echoed in Book 3 (in the Colchian assembly) there are no close verbal parallels, and different aspects of the Homeric model are prominent. Thus different elements of the same Homeric episode are used in the two books. However, the influence of *Odyssey* 6–8 can be traced in almost every major scene in Book 3, as a common feature linking different parts of the narrative together. The exceptions to this are the three scenes with the Argonauts (the scene in which the embassy is despatched, the omen of the hawk and dove, and the testing of Jason's armour); since Odysseus has lost all his companions by *Odyssey* 6–8, there are no closely equivalent scenes in these books.

The parallels between the royal families in the two episodes encourage the reader to notice the differences as much as the similarities. Though Aeetes lives in similar luxury to Alcinous and, like him, shows an intense interest in his visitors, his suspicion and harshness are the antithesis of the hospitable welcome which is given to Odysseus; this is especially clear in the embassy scene where Aeetes first speaks to the Argonauts. Likewise, Medea resembles Nausicaa in her social status, her actions and her attitude to the Greek visitor; however, her fear of her father, her witchcraft and her reliance on deception distinguish her sharply from her Homeric predecessor. The evident similarities of character and behaviour between Medea and Nausicaa do not imply that the two girls are identical in every respect, as is made clear by the course of both relationships. It is therefore mistaken to assume that the nature of Medea's feelings for Jason is exactly

[371] 3.1407b also recalls Od. 5.262, both containing ἦμαρ ... καὶ τῷ τετελεσ-.

the same as that of Nausicaa's for Odysseus.[372] The description of Medea's internal turmoil should not be seen merely as an interpretation and expansion of the hints of Nausicaa's feelings which are given by Homer, though these hints are a precedent for it. Apollonius depicts a similar girl in a similar situation, using the closest available Homeric model, without being confined to the emotional range found in that model. As often, the differences from Homer are as revealing as the similarities.

The contrasts between the episodes, present throughout, are illustrated in their respective outcomes. When Odysseus leaves Scheria, any tension which has arisen has been resolved in friendship, and the potentially embarrassing offer of marriage to Nausicaa has been tactfully declined. Events in Colchis turn out very differently; the visit ends with the theft of the Fleece, the elopement of Medea and two parties of Colchians in pursuit. The contrast with Homer's Phaeacian episode highlights the breaking of heroic conventions of hospitality which has taken place on both sides.

b) *The Argonauts' Visit to the Phaeacians*

This is the most important of the links between the *Odyssey* and the 'Odyssean' part of the *Argonautica*, since both Homer and Apollonius treat the visit of their heroes to the Phaeacians at greater length than any of the adventures which immediately precede. For both Argonauts and Odysseus this is a pivotal stage in the journey; in the *Odyssey* it is the boundary between the fantasy world and the real one, while in the *Argonautica* it marks Medea's final break with Colchis. The stay with the Phaeacians stands out from the rest of the return journey as the only occasion when the Argonauts are given a full welcome. In the *Odyssey*, too, it is the only place where Odysseus is given disinterested hospitality.[373]

The arrival among the Phaeacians immediately after negotiating the dangers of the Sirens, the Wandering Rocks and the Cattle of the Sun conceals what in terms of Homeric 'geography' is possibly a large distance. Because Odysseus tells his stories of those dangers to the Phaeacians, they are associated with them in the reader's mind,

---

[372] As is done by Margolies (1981), 173 and n. 23, who sees both as 'hero-worship'.

[373] This contrasts with four welcomes on the outward journey (Lemnos, Cyzicus, Phineus, and Lycus). In Odysseus' case, the hospitality of the Phaeacians contrasts with the mixed welcomes offered by Circe and Calypso.

and Apollonius' sequence of places seems on a casual reading to be taken straight from the *Odyssey*. However, after leaving the island of Helios, Odysseus is shipwrecked (Od. 12.409–25) and blown back to Charybdis (Od. 12.426–30) and on to the island of Calypso (Od. 12.447–48), on leaving which he is shipwrecked again (Od. 5.366–425) on the Phaeacians' shores. The Argonauts, by contrast, experience no difficulty in travelling between Thrinacia and Scheria. The *Odyssey* does not imply that Scheria is anywhere near the island of Helios, though the traditional identifications of those places with Corcyra and Sicily respectively, which Apollonius adopts, assume that they are not far apart. There may be a hint that the Argonauts are omitting stages in Odysseus' voyage in the μέγα λαῖτμα which they have to cross before arriving at Drepane (4.980),[374] though even so it is only a night's journey (4.979–81).

The home of the Phaeacians was generally agreed to be Corcyra,[375] and the visit of the Argonauts to it was also well established in tradition. Timaeus referred to the marriage and to a temple of Apollo which commemorated a sacrifice made by Medea,[376] and discussed the name Drepane;[377] the episode was also treated by Callimachus in *Aetia* 1.[378] However, it is disputed whether Homer himself borrowed the episode from the legend of the Argonauts.[379]

The name of Drepane is not Homeric; like Homer, Apollonius avoids calling the island by the 'obvious' name Phaeacia, and the name Drepane gives opportunities for aetiological explanations (4.982–91).[380] In Homer, Scheria is not said to be an island, but Drepane is an ἀμφιλαφὴς πίειρα . . . νῆσος 'a large and fertile island' (4.983). This is the reverse of Apollonius' treatment of geography in the Circe episode, where a Homeric island becomes part of the mainland. However, as there, the alteration fits theories about the location of Homeric places, since it allows Scheria to be identified with the island Corcyra. The name Scheria, however, is not used.

---

[374] Also 4.1694 (after leaving Crete).

[375] Cf. Hainsworth (1988) on Od. 6.8. The identification first occurs at Hellanicus 4 F 77, Thuc. 1.25.4; Callimachus accepted it (fr. 13). Cf. Σ ad 4.982–92.

[376] Σ ad 4.1153–54 = 566 F 87, Σ ad 4.1217–19b = 566 F 88, cf. Brown (1958), 32 and n. 58, Dufner (1988), 108–9.

[377] Σ ad 4.982–92g = 566 F 79, cf. Brown (1958), 25. Cf. Call. fr. 14.

[378] Call. frs. 12–15.

[379] Merkelbach (1969), 206–7 thinks not, but cf. the works cited in n. 68.

[380] The island is called Φαίηξ by Callimachus (fr. 15.1). Cf. RE s.v. 'Scherie'. On the local associations of the name Drepane, cf. Delage (1930), 248.

Other details locate Drepane in the Ionian Sea; Κεραυνίῃ εἰν ἁλί (4.983) gives a precise position, as do 4.1214–15, which refer to the later emigration of the Colchians who settle among the Phaeacians. The Argonauts are re-entering the contemporary Mediterranean world. The Ὑλλικὸς λιμήν 'harbour of Hyllus' (4.1125) is not Homeric and recalls a local legend about Heracles, part of which has been related earlier (4.538–51).[381] This myth mentions the Phaeacians (4.539, 4.549) and their king Nausithous (4.539, 4.547, 4.550, cf. Od. 7.56–63), looking ahead to the visit to Drepane later in Book 4. As he does with Circe, Apollonius prepares for the actual appearance of the Phaeacians by mentioning them some time beforehand, in this case in an *aition*. Another non-Homeric legend concerning the land of the Phaeacians which is foreshadowed in the same passage (4.540) is that of Macris, Dionysus' nurse and the bringer of prosperity to the Phaeacians (4.1131–40; cf. 4.990, 4.1175); in Homer their wealth is unexplained.

The two adjectives which describe the island when it is introduced at 4.983 both allude to Homer. ἀμφιλαφής is not Homeric and its meaning is disputed;[382] Apollonius here equates it with ἀμφίδυμος, used of a harbour at Od. 4.847 and recalling the double harbour of Scheria at Od. 6.263–64. πίειρα suggests the fertility of Alcinous' garden (Od. 7.114–28).

The situation on Drepane is much as in Homer, but set a generation earlier. Arete and Alcinous are reigning and there appears to be a single city (4.1174, 4.1179) in which they live (4.1068); Alcinous is abruptly introduced (4.995), as it is assumed that the reader will remember him from Homer. Arete has maids (4.1112–13) as she does at Od. 7.103–11; Circe's maids, too, appear in both poems (cf. p. 191). No Phaeacians apart from the royal couple are named in the *Argonautica*, though in the *Odyssey* we hear about several others.[383] In Apollonius the Phaeacians are hospitable, though Alcinous is not as obliging as he is in Homer. They are not suspicious of strangers,

---

[381] Cf. Vian III, 31.

[382] Cf. Delage, *Géographie*, 248. ἀμφιλαφής also occurs at 2.733, 4.1366 where 'double' would not be appropriate. Σ ad 4.982–92c: ἀμφοτέρωθεν πρόσορμον ἔχουσα 'offering anchorage on both sides'. Σ ad 4.1366 (where the word is used of a horse) offers a variety of other explanations. Cf. Livrea ad loc., Hopkinson on Call. h. 6.26.

[383] E.g. Euryalus (Od. 8.115), Demodocus (Od. 8.44), Echeneus (Od. 7.155), Apeiraie (Od. 7.8), and others Od. 8.111–14.

as they are said to be in in the *Odyssey* (4.994–97, cf. Od. 6.274, Od. 7.32–33).[384] Alcinous does not like warfare (4.1008–10), a characteristic of the Phaeacians in general at Od. 6.270.

An important difference both from Homer and from Colchis in Book 3 is the absence of anything magical about Drepane; in Homer the Phaeacians had self-steering ships (Od. 8.557–63) and bronze guard-dogs made by Hephaestus (Od. 7.91–94), but in the *Argonautica* Drepane is not abnormal in any respect.[385] Arete thinks of her island as part of the Greek world; she says at 4.1074–75 that Argos[386] and Haemonia are near by, and both she and Alcinous display a knowledge of Greek myth (4.1090–95, 4.1103).[387]

Nor is great stress laid on the idyllic life of the Phaeacians; in wealth and abilities they seem similar to any other Greeks of the heroic age, although they are said to enjoy ὄλβον ἀθέσφατον (4.1140). They are also akin to the Olympians (4.991–92) as they are in Homer (Od. 5.35, Od. 7.56–59, Od. 7.205),[388] but there is no mention of their having entertained the gods as at Od. 7.201–6. A small change in one adjective may also reduce Alcinous' status. At 4.1123 Alcinous is θεουδής, whereas at Od. 7.231 he is θεοειδής. It is possible that Apollonius mistakenly thought that the two words meant the same,[389] but it is more likely that the change is deliberate. Alcinous is no longer 'godlike', but rather 'god-fearing'.

Commentators have been puzzled by the apparent importance of Arete, as opposed to Alcinous, in the instructions given to Odysseus by Nausicaa and Athena, and the way this is not borne out in practice, since it is Alcinous who accepts Odysseus (Od. 7.168–69).[390]

---

[384] There has been disagreement as to how good to strangers Homer's Phaeacians really are. G. P. Rose, "The Unfriendly Phaeacians," *TAPA* 100 (1969), 387-406 believes that they are unfriendly towards Odysseus; G. J. De Vries, "Phaeacian Manners," *Mnemosyne* 4 ser. 30 (1977), 113–21 disagrees, though both think that Alcinous lacks diplomacy.

[385] On Homer's Phaeacians as being both normal and abnormal, cf. Segal (1962), 17, 27, Vidal-Naquet (1986), 26–27.

[386] Argos is selected to mean 'Greece' (cf. Vian III, 116, n. 4), perhaps punning on the name of the ship carrying this pan-Hellenic expedition.

[387] This contrasts with Medea's ignorance of Greece, apart from a couple of places with family connexions. Cf. Vian N.C. on 4.1000[1], Fränkel, *Noten*, 562, on 4.1103.

[388] On their descent, cf. Dufner (1988), 112–16.

[389] Cf. Σ^V ad Od. 6.121; Quintus Smyrnaeus makes this mistake (e.g. 3.775).

[390] Arete's importance: Od. 6.303–15, Od. 7.66–77, Od. 7.142–52. Cf. Fenik (1974), 105–30, J. B. Hainsworth, *A commentary on Homer's Odyssey* v. 1 (Oxford: 1988) 316–18.

Apollonius reflects this confusion about authority without reproducing it; though Alcinous now appears to wield power, it is Arete whose actions secure Medea's safety. Language which is used of Arete's authority in Homer is transferred to Alcinous[391] or to the Argonauts (4.995–96, Od. 7.69–72) (pp. 264–65). The distribution of power between Alcinous and Arete, with Arete capable of taking the initiative and exercising her influence in private, encourages comparison of their relationship with that of Jason and Medea; the phrase κουρίδιος ἀκοίτης/κουριδίη ἄκοιτις 'lawful spouse' is used of both couples (4.1071–72, 4.1085).

The Phaeacians are less of a 'half-way house' between the fantastic and the normal than they are in the *Odyssey*;[392] their rôle in the narrative is parallel to that of the Illyrians at 4.338–49 since both have to confront a party of Colchians and decide whether to hand Medea back to them. However, the episode is also a 'transition' within the poem, both with regard to its plot and its relationship to Homer; Medea finally breaks her ties with Colchis and becomes Jason's wife, and the Phaeacians themselves are (at least in Arete's opinion) part of the Greek world, a world which the Argonauts now re-enter. It is the last in the series of episodes which 're-live' Odysseus' wanderings, and towards the end of it (beginning at 4.1153–55) *aitia* relating to the Argonauts' voyage reappear after an absence of some five hundred lines.[393] As in the *Odyssey*, there is a contrast between the Phaeacians' untroubled life and the sufferings of their visitors, both those of the past and those which the reader knows lie ahead.[394]

The visit is a substitute for the Argonauts' return, which is so summarily dealt with at the end of the poem. The Phaeacians' joy is like that of parents welcoming their children (4.997–1000);[395] the

---

[391] 4.1009–10 (Alcinous) . . . λελίητο γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι
δηϊοτῆτος ἄνευθεν ὑπέρβια <u>νείκεα λῦσαι</u>.
(. . . for he wanted to resolve this violent strife without fighting.)
Od. 7.74 (Arete) οἷσίν τ' εὖ φρονέῃσι καὶ ἀνδράσι <u>νείκεα λύει</u>.
('If she takes kindly to anyone—to a man no less than to a woman—she will be a peacemaker in his feuds.')

[392] On the Phaeacians as a 'transition' for Odysseus from the world of magic to normal heroic life, cf. Segal (1962) (esp. 21–23), T. Krischer, "Phäaken und Odyssee," *Hermes* 113 (1985), 9–21.

[393] For a different explanation, cf. Sanchez (1989), 255–56.

[394] On this contrast in the *Odyssey*, cf. C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1958) 241–42, Segal (1962), 28–29.

[395] The adjective/adverb ἀσπάσιος/ίως (4.996) 'welcome, -ing', though not rare in Apollonius, is especially associated in the *Odyssey* with homecoming (cf. L. K. Taaffe,

Argonauts themselves feel as if they were back in Thessaly (which Arete says is near by (4.1075)).[396] The marriage of Jason and Medea, too, is something which they had wanted to celebrate after their return to Greece (4.1161–64).[397] The events on Drepane in some way replace Jason's reception at Pagasae, with which Apollonius might have ended the poem. In this Apollonius imitates the parallels which modern critics have also seen between Odysseus' stay with the Phaeacians and his return to Ithaca,[398] though he does so not by writing two similar scenes but by transplanting into the stay on Drepane events and emotions which would naturally be associated with the return to Thessaly. The parallelism between the Argonauts' visit to the Phaeacians and their return home is explicit, because events on Drepane are compared to the future return and anticipate it.

The welcome is scaled down; the Argonauts are accorded a welcome appropriate to one's children (4.997), not one due to the gods (Od. 5.36 (Odysseus' welcome), Od. 7.71). Homer's Phaeacians know from experience what it is really like to entertain gods, whereas Apollonius' apparently do not (Od. 7.201–6, cf. p. 247). The Argonauts are not given the full trappings of a heroic welcome since they are not put up in the palace but remain by their ship (4.1124–25).

Both poems have a supplication of Arete, by Odysseus (Od. 7.146–52, on instructions given at Od. 6.310–12) and Medea (4.1012–28);[399]

"There's No Place like Home: 'ἀσπάσιος' and Related Words in the *Odyssey*," *Classical Journal* 86 (1990), 131–38), and is used in the final line of the *Argonautica* as the Argonauts arrive at Pagasae (on which line cf. Hunter (1993), 120 n. 77).

396 On the contrast with the real prospect of returning home, cf. C. S. Byre, "The Narrator's Addresses to the Narratee in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*," *TAPA* 121 (1991), 222–23. Hutchinson (1988), 103–4 notes the emphasis on Αἱμονίη 'Haemonia', and contrasts the dangers to come with Odysseus' safe passage from Scheria to Ithaca.

397 The wedding of Jason and Medea was not always set on Corcyra, though Timaeus (566 F 87) and Philitas (fr. 9 K = Σ ad 4.1141) put it there; Timonax 2 M 4 522 (= Σ ad 4.1217–19a) and Antimachus (fr. 64 W) set their union in Colchis, Dionysius Scutobrachion (32 F 31) in Byzantium.

398 Cf. K. Rüter, *Odysseeinterpretationen: Untersuchungen zum ersten Buch und zur Phaiakis* (Göttingen: 1969) 228–46, Fenik (1974), 33, 153–54, Krischer (1985), 16–18, R. B. Rutherford, "At Home and Abroad: Aspects of the Structure of the *Odyssey*," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 31 (1985), 140–44, W. G. Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic* (Baltimore: 1984) 54. On the palace organisation in both places, cf. Vidal-Naquet (1986), 28 and n. 87. For an 'oral' explanation, cf. Lang (1969), 162–68.

399 Medea's choice of Arete can also be explained as being because she hopes another woman will sympathise more than a man would. On pleas for help in the *Argonautica*, cf. Collins (1974), 62–73.

Medea's supplication is a parallel to her supplication of the Argonauts (4.1030–53). In Homer this happens in the μέγαρον at a meal, but in Apollonius the setting is unspecified. This supplication is the most obvious parallel to Odysseus' experiences among the Phaeacians (see below). Arete now occupies the position Medea herself was in when Jason appealed to her at 3.985–1007.

Though it is Alcinous who formally resolves the dispute about Medea, Arete arranges that the judgement will go in Medea's favour by speedily organising a secret wedding. Although her authority officially has been transferred to her husband, she has as much actual influence as in the *Odyssey*, and Medea correctly realises that Arete has the power to win him over. She thus has more in common with Homer's Arete than might at first appear; both Odysseus and Medea must win her support to gain what they hope for. Apollonius clarifies the distribution of power between the royal couple, which is left unclear in the *Odyssey*. Medea's hopes for the future, however, are precisely the opposite of Odysseus' expressed at Od. 6.314–15 and Od. 7.76–77; she does *not* wish to return home![400] The most extensive verbal correspondence between Apollonius' Phaeacian episode and Homer's is Medea's supplication of Arete (4.1014–28), which draws on Odysseus' pleas to Arete and Nausicaa (Od. 7.146–52, Od. 6.149–85) (pp. 265–66). Medea's speech is longer and more emotional than Odysseus' appeal to Arete (for example in swearing by the gods (4.1019–20)), since she feels that she has to justify her position, and the danger facing her is more immediate. Her prayer for prosperity is more direct, being for Arete herself rather than for the other feasters as in Homer (4.1026–28, Od. 7.148–50);[401] we know from the *Odyssey* that her prayer that Alcinous and Arete will have children is answered.[402] She also asks Arete to plead with her husband for her, recognising that Alcinous officially has the final authority; Odysseus directs his appeal to Arete alone. There is an ironic reversal of fortune in Medea's reliance on Arete, since at 3.87–89 her usefulness to Hera was described in words which recall Arete's power.

---

[400] Cf. Hunter (1987), 133.

[401] Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 556.

[402] Medea prays similarly for Aegeus (E. *Med.* 688), a prayer which is also answered; this scene can be recalled even though it is incompatible with Apollonius' chronology (Theseus is adult at 1.101–4, 3.997–99, 3.1100–1, 4.433–34). Arete represents both herself and her daughter; cf. Dufner (1988), 109–10, Hunter (1993), 70.

The scene also resembles Odysseus' supplication of Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6. Garson[403] finds a 'grim irony' in the contrast of Odysseus' flirtation with Medea's desperate plight, but forgets that Odysseus at this point is as desperately in need of help as Medea is now.[404] However, the allusion to this particular scene further emphasises the reversal in Medea's situation; the scene between Odysseus and Nausicaa was also the model for Jason's appeal to Medea at the temple of Hecate in Book 3, but now it is Medea, not Jason, who has to plead for help.

In Homer Odysseus is accepted by Alcinous (Od. 7.167–69), not by Arete. We hear nothing of the success of Medea's supplication until the bedroom scene between Arete and her husband, where Arete, speaking for the first time in the poem, reveals her sympathy for the couple (4.1073–95). Though in Homer Alcinous replies before his wife (Od. 7.179–81, at the prompting of Echeneus (Od. 7.159–66)), Arete speaks too but waits until she, her husband and Odysseus are alone together (Od. 7.230–39). In Apollonius, as in Homer, there is a delay before Arete responds to the appeal made to her.

Medea's sleeplessness (4.1060–61) is a counterpart to her restless night at 3.744–824, and also contrasts with the settled conjugal arrangements of Alcinous and Arete (4.1068–111). At Od. 7.344–47 Odysseus sleeps alone outside while Alcinous and Arete share a bed in the depths of the palace; Apollonius reproduces the contrast between the worries of Odysseus and the carefree life of the Phaeacians which this passage exemplifies.[405] ὡς τὸ πάροιθεν 'as before' (4.1068) refers to the Homeric model, another substitution of 'literary' time for that of the narrative. Much of the episode is concerned with things which go on in bed, as Jason and Medea also later spend their wedding night on Phaeacian soil (4.1128–69). This feature can be paralleled from Homer's Phaeacian episode; Nausicaa is first seen in bed (Od. 6.15–19), and a bed is made up at Od. 7.336–38 (cf. 4.1141–43). The theme is continued in the affair of Ares and Aphrodite in Demodocus' song, an affair which arouses angry opposition, like that of Jason and Medea, from the male who has charge over the

---

[403] R. W. Garson, "Homeric Echoes in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*," *Classical Philology* 67 (1972), 7.

[404] Odysseus, like Medea, is in great need of help, and apparently friendly women he and his men have previously met (Circe, Calypso, the daughter of the Laestrygonian king) have proved harmful to him.

[405] On Apollonius' 'supplement' to the end of *Odyssey* 7, cf. Hunter (1993), 71.

female concerned, and one in which the lovers sleep together with metallic bedclothes (Od. 8.274–75, Od. 8.296–99, cf. the use of the Fleece (4.1141–43)).[406] There is a singer at Jason and Medea's wedding (4.1159–60, 4.1193–94), recalling the prominence of Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, and indirectly hinting that what he sang might be relevant here, as it was in the opening scene of Book 3.

The simile describing Medea's sleeplessness at 4.1061–65 draws on Od. 8.523–30, and is one of a series of similes which deal with disrupted family relationships, a type which can also be found in Homer.[407] Od. 8.523–30 is also the model for the first extended simile in the poem at 1.269–75, where Alcimede clinging to Jason is like a girl taking refuge from her stepmother's cruelty in the arms of her nurse (both there and here the woman's sorrow is caused by the loss or prospective loss of Jason). As in 1.269–75, the description of grief concentrates on inner feelings (4.1061, 4.1066–67, 1.274–75) as much as on their outward expression (4.1064–66), in a way that Od. 8.523–30 does not. The simile completes a pattern which also includes two other similes about Medea: 3.291–95, where (as here) the activities of a poor woman are the subject, and 3.656–63, a widow weeping for the loss of her husband. Both 4.1061–65 and 3.291–95 also share a model in Il. 12.433–35.[408] These similes have a complex relationship to one another and to Homeric similes; in addition, they are all complex in themselves, suggesting emotions and future events[409] as well as straightforward resemblances in situation.

As well as fitting into this intricate pattern of similes within the *Argonautica*, the simile contributes to the analogy between Medea's plight and that of Odysseus on Scheria. The simile in Apollonius corresponds more closely to the narrative than does the one in the *Odyssey*, since worries about the (prospective) loss of a sexual partner

[406] The use of a fleece as a bedspread is Homeric; cf. Od. 1.443.

[407] In the *Odyssey*, cf. H. P. Foley, "'Reverse Similes' and Sex Rôles in the *Odyssey*," *Arethusa* 11 (1978), 7–8. Od. 8.523–30 creates sympathy for Odysseus; cf. A. J. Podlecki, "Some Odyssean Similes," *Greece and Rome* n.s. 18 (1971), 86.

[408] The children appear in 4.1061–65 but not in 3.291–95 (perhaps because Medea is closer to marriage in Book 4 and children recall the formerly married state of the woman in the simile). In both similes Apollonius adds a detail which is not found in Homer, that it is night or perhaps (in Book 3) very early morning, which in Book 4 is appropriate to the context. For further discussion of 4.1061–65 and 3.291–97, cf. Beye (1982), 137, Zanker (1987), 76–77 and n. 82, Hunter (1993), 65. Another Homeric model is Od. 20.25–27 (a 'deliberation simile').

[409] Cf. Hurst (1967), 122–23.

and about her own future are at the front of Medea's mind. Medea's situation resembles that of the woman in the Odyssean simile even more than it does that of the woman in Apollonius' simile, since the woman in the *Odyssey* is distraught at being torn away from her husband to face a life of slavery somewhere else, rather than having to endure a life of hardship after losing him. Recollection of the Homeric simile enhances our understanding of Medea's emotions.[410]

Arete's plea to Alcinous recalls that of Odysseus to him:

4.1089 λίην <u>γὰρ δύσζηλοι</u> ἑαῖς <u>ἐπὶ</u> παισὶ τοκῆες·
('Parents are too prone to sternness with their children.')
Od. 7.307 <u>δύσζηλοι γάρ</u> τ' εἰμὲν <u>ἐπὶ</u> χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων.
('. . . all the world over we human beings are quick to take offence.')

4.1089 prefaces Arete's list of examples of paternal harshness; in the *Odyssey* Odysseus is claiming that he did not obey Nausicaa's instructions to go with her because he was afraid that Alcinous would be angry. In both cases the adjective δύσζηλος is used of a father's concern for his daughter not to come into contact with strange men and the anger he would feel if she should do so. This is another similarity between Medea and Nausicaa, continuing a pattern which was established in Book 3.

The despatching of the herald to tell Jason of Alcinous' intentions echoes the sending of a good cut of meat to Demodocus (4.1114–27, Od. 8.482–83) (p. 266). This kind of detail adds to the numerous other echoes of Homer's Phaeacians without contributing in any specific way. Another general evocation of Homeric style is the repetition of most of 4.1107 at 4.1119, which recalls the repetition of instructions in Homeric messenger speeches.[411]

There are a few similarities between the wedding scene and the feasts in *Odyssey* 8, though their position within the scene is different. As already stated, Orpheus' prominence resembles that of Demodocus, and the subject of his song has some similarities to Jason's and Medea's situation. The dancing at 4.1193–98 recalls the dancing at Alcinous' feast (Od. 8.262–65, Od. 8.370–80). In both cases those in whose honour the celebration is held are not entirely happy (4.1168–69, Od. 8.92, Od. 8.521–531), although the feasting could be seen as a

[410] The simile shows the meaninglessness of Medea's marriage (Hunter (1987), 133).
[411] Cf. Elderkin (1913), 199 and the use of repetition in the Lemnos episode (cf. p. 165).

celebration of their acceptance by the Phaeacians.

However, the choice of Drepane as the setting for Jason's and Medea's wedding throws into sharp relief the contrast between the relationship of Jason and Medea and that of Odysseus and Nausicaa, a contrast which has already been explored in Book 3. It is thus appropriate that the former love-affair be consummated in the place in which its main model is set. In literary terms, Medea owes a great deal to Nausicaa, but in mythological ones the debt is the other way round, since there is even a suggestion that Nausicaa's very existence is owed to Medea' prayer at 4.1028.

At 4.1170–81 Alcinous summons his assembly, as Homer's Alcinous does at Od. 8.1–17. However, there is very little direct verbal resemblance between the two scenes.[412] The elements they have in common are dawn (4.1170–71, Od. 8.1), people on the move (4.1174–75, Od. 8.2–3), the Phaeacians, Alcinous and the strangers arriving at the ἀγορή (though Apollonius does not name it), where Alcinous is to declare what is to happen next. Both poets mention the arrival of Alcinous (4.1176, Od. 8.4–5) and the Phaeacians (4.1181, Od. 8.16–17) but not that of the visitors; the actual assembly place is not mentioned in the *Argonautica*, as it is at Od. 8.6–7. In both assemblies the strangers excite admiration (4.1192–93, Od. 8.17–18[413]), and there is a divine intervention (4.1184–85,[414] Od. 8.7–14), spreading word of the assembly, though without direct verbal parallels. The intervention in Apollonius is not a physical one, unlike in Homer, where Athena comes to Scheria in the guise of a herald, a change typical of the way the major Olympians behave in Apollonius. Nothing in the Odyssean passage corresponds to 4.1171–73 (the rejoicing of nature).[415]

The Phaeacians give gifts to their guests at 4.1219–22 as at Od. 8.387–448; in both cases Arete is involved (4.1220–21, Od. 8.433–45). However, the only gifts which are described are Medea's twelve

---

[412] Apollonius also uses the assemblies of Greeks in *Iliad* 1 and 2 (Alcinous' sceptre 1177–9, cf. Il. 1.234–9, 2.101–8) and the judgement scene on the shield of Achilles (Il. 18.497–508).

[413] As at Lemnos, another place of sexual activity, they are watched by women (4.1182–83, 1.783–84, 1.842–45) who bring gifts (4.1189–91, 1.846).

[414] Hera also intervenes in this episode at 4.1137–38 (in a myth), 4.1152 (as Ζηνὸς ἄκοιτις 'bedfellow of Zeus', appropriately in a wedding scene (cf. p. 237 n. 354)), and 4.1199–200 (referring back in time).

[415] On this topos cf. Livrea on 4.1171.

maids, who reappear at 4.1296–304 and 4.1720–27. The number may derive from the twelve-fold gift of the Phaeacian nobles (Od. 8.390–95, excluding Alcinous' contribution as the thirteenth).[416]

There are of course other Homeric models at work in the episode, some of which have already been noted. One is especially strong in its influence, since it is not a single scene but a whole poem; this is the similarity between the conflict of Argonauts and Colchians and the Trojan War. The presence of an expedition of armed men sent to recover a woman from their country who has eloped with a foreigner puts Medea in the position of Helen in the *Iliad.* In particular, the negotiations over whether to hand her back draw on the unsuccessful treaty to end the war in *Iliad* 3.[417]

Other echoes of the *Iliad* link Medea with Agamemnon, giving her a more active role. Firstly, Medea's appeal to the Argonauts at 4.1030–52 recalls Agamemnon's encouragement of his troops (Il. 4.250–421).[418] Later, in her attempt to excuse herself to Arete by appealing to ἄτη 'error', Medea resembles Agamemnon at Il. 19.86–138, especially at 4.1016–19. 4.1019–21 also recall part of a later speech by Agamemnon (Il. 19.258–61) (p. 266). In both speeches the speaker pleads his or her sexual restraint (4.1024–25, Il. 19.261–3).[419] Arete also speaks of Medea's ἄτη, using the cognate verb, in her bedroom plea to Alcinous (4.1080, cf. 4.1016, Il. 19.91–138 *passim*); Arete's method of achieving her ends has a parallel in the story about the birth of Heracles which is told by Agamemnon (Il. 19.95–133). Hera makes her husband declare that future events will turn out in a certain way (Il. 19.106–13), then uses her powers to ensure that the outcome will be the way she prefers (Il. 19.114–19). This is the way Arete too ensures she gets her way, and it is not surprising

[416] For a different explanation relating to Medea's maids in Book 3, cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 586–87.

[417] Parallels between Medea/Helen; ἐκδίδωμι 'give up' (4.1015, 4.1119), both of giving Medea back to her father; its only occurrence in Homer is Il. 3.459 of returning Helen to the Greeks; the situation resembles *Iliad* 3 in the making of conditions to give the woman back. More significant is ἀοίδιμος 'a subject for song', used by Helen of herself and Paris (Il. 6.358), when she thinks of the trouble their affair has caused, and of Jason and Medea's wedding at 4.1143; this word is a *hapax legomenon* in both poets but cf. also Call. hy. 5.121, fr. 299.2. On Medea as Helen in general, cf. Hunter (1987), 138.

[418] Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 559.

[419] Medea's πυκιναὶ φρένες recall 3.289, when she fell in love; in one of two Homeric appearances this phrase is used of Zeus seduced by Hera (Il. 14.294).

to learn later that it is Hera who put this scheme into her mind (4.1199–200).[420]

The Odyssean antecedents of the episode thus do not exclude the *Iliad*. While the similarities to *Odyssey* 6–8 also involve the Argonauts and the Phaeacians, the Iliadic elements centre on Medea. Whereas in Book 3 Medea had played the part of Nausicaa, she now takes over from Jason as the analogue to Odysseus. The addition of Helen and Agamemnon from the *Iliad*, two characters whose responsibility for their disastrous actions is unclear, make Medea the complex focus of multiple allusions; her moral position is all the more ambiguous. It is only Alcinous' neutral arbitration which saves the situation from descending into open conflict; but the instant solution he proposes solves one problem, only to leave others for the future.

The stay on Drepane, which brings to a close the sequence of adventures directly 'borrowed' from the *Odyssey*, exemplifies Apollonius' skill at exploiting the reader's knowledge of the general situation on Drepane, particular events during Odysseus' stay, and the function of the episode within the structure of the *Odyssey*. It also complicates the picture by drawing on other parts of Homer.

The episode should not be considered in isolation from the action of Book 3. In general, Book 3 draws mainly on Odysseus' meeting with Nausicaa, his journey to the palace, and his interview with Arete and Alcinous. The first two of these scenes are not extensively used in Book 4, and Apollonius selects different parts of the scene in the palace for Medea's approach to Arete. When material from the *Odyssey*'s Phaeacian episode is used in both Books 3 and 4 (such as Odysseus' supplication of Nausicaa, the assembly, and Demodocus' song), different aspects of it are selected in each book. This 'comple-

---

[420] On the parallel of Arete and Alcinous/Hera and Zeus, cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 563. It is Arete who begins the conversation and Alcinous' promise is not bound by an oath, but revealed of his own accord (4.1105–9; 4.1205 ἀρρήκτοισι... ὅρκοις 'unbreakable oaths' does not refer to this scene, cf. Livrea on 4.1205). This suits the differences in their characters and relationship; Zeus begins with a boast intended to flatter himself (Il. 19.103–5), whereas Alcinous' concern is that justice may be seen to be done (4.1100, 4.1104–5), and Arete trusts him to abide by his word because there is not the suspicion between them which exists between Zeus and Hera. Another difference is that Zeus is deceived into doing something he would otherwise not have wanted to do, but Arete ensures the judgement will favour those with whom Alcinous' sympathies lie (4.1098–99); her husband is consequently not angry when he realises what has happened. Indeed, he may have revealed his plan to her with the intention that she take appropriate action! Cf. 4.1071–72, 4.1085, κουριδίην ἄλοχον 'lawful wife' (Il. 19.298).

mentary' use of allusion resembles the fragmentation of Homer's Circe episode. Despite this, the extensive allusions to the episode both in Book 3 and in the Phaeacian episode in Book 4 enhance the similarities between these two parts of the *Argonautica*, which both involve delicate negotiations with a strange king, and illustrate the reversal of fortune which has taken place, with Medea as the suppliant in Book 4 rather than the saviour.

Because Odysseus' adventures among the Phaeacians are recounted at greater length than his other wanderings, there is more material to be adapted and recalled in the *Argonautica*, and it can be explored as extensively as any of the other Odyssean episodes considered in this chapter. The multiple varieties of allusion to *Odyssey* 6–8, and the varied uses which are made of them, show the full range of the technique, working at every level from minor details to the shape of the whole of the central episode of the poem, and employing the devices which have been used in Apollonius' treatment of the rest of Odysseus' wanderings.

3.39 ἕρκεα δ' εἰσελθοῦσαι, ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θαλάμοιο
ἕσταν, ἵν' ἐντύνεσκε θεὰ λέχος Ἡφαίστοιο.
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐς χαλκεῶνα καὶ ἄκμονας ἦρι βεβήκει. . . .

(They entered the court and stood in the portico of the bedchamber where the goddess shared her bed with Hephaestus. He had departed early to his forge and anvils. . . .)

Od. 8.269 πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκε, λέχος δ' ᾔσχυνε καὶ εὐνὴν
Ἡφαίστοιο ἄνακτος·

([Ares] had offered many gifts . . . and covered with shame the marriage bed of Lord Hephaestus.)

Od. 8.273 βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν ἐς χαλκεῶνα, κακὰ φρεσὶ βυσσοδομεύων·
ἐν δ' ἔθετ' ἀκμοθέτῳ μέγαν ἄκμονα. . . .

(. . . he made his way towards his smithy, brooding revenge. He laid the great anvil on its base . . .)

Od. 8.277 βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν ἐς θάλαμον, ὅθι οἱ φίλα δέμνι' ἔκειτο. . . .

(. . . he went to the room where his bed lay. . . .)

Od. 8.359 ὣς εἰπὼν δεσμὸν ἀνίει μένος Ἡφαίστοιο.
τὼ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ δεσμοῖο λύθεν, κρατεροῦ περ ἐόντος,
αὐτίκ' ἀναΐξαντε ὁ μὲν Θρῄκηνδε βεβήκει,

(. . . with that [Hephaestus] undid the chains, powerful though they had proved. Unshackled thus . . . [Ares] went on his way to Thrace. . . .)

3.87 (of Medea) εἰ γάρ οἱ κείνη συμφράσσεται εὐμενέουσα,
ῥηϊδίως μιν ἑλόντα δέρος χρύσειον ὀΐω
νοστήσειν ἐς Ἰωλκόν, ἐπεὶ δολόεσσα τέτυκται.

('If she willingly offers him her aid, I think that he will easily gain the

golden fleece and return to Iolcus, for she is full of guile.')

Od. 6.313 εἰ κέν τοι κείνη γε φίλα φρονέῃσ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ,
(almost = ἐλπωρή τοι ἔπειτα φίλους ἰδέειν καὶ ἱκέσθαι
Od. 7.75–77) οἶκον ἐϋκτίμενον καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

('You too, then, if she looks kindly on you, may hope to set eyes again on your kith and kin and to reach your own well-built house and your own country.')

Od. 8.281 (of chains) . . . πέρι γὰρ δολόεντα τέτυκτο.

(. . . so cunning had been the workmanship.)

3.210 τοῖσι δὲ νισομένοις Ἥρη φίλα μητιόωσα
ἠέρα πουλὺν ἐφῆκε διὴ ἄστεος, ὄφρα λάθοιεν
Κόλχων μυρίον ἔθνος ἐς Αἰήταο κιόντες.
ὦκα δ' ὅτ' ἐκ πεδίοιο πόλιν καὶ δώμαθ' ἵκοντο
Αἰήτεω, τότε δ' αὖτις ἀπεσκέδασεν νέφος Ἥρη.
ἔσταν δ' ἐν προμολῇσι, τεθηπότες ἕρκε' ἄνακτος
εὐρείας τε πύλας καὶ κίονας οἳ περὶ τοίχους
ἑξείης ἄνεχον· θριγκὸς δ' ἐφύπερθε δόμοιο
λαΐνεος χαλκέῃσιν ἐπὶ γλυφίδεσσιν ἀρήρει.
εὔκηλοι δ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔπειτ' ἔβαν. . . .
221 . . . αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῇσιν
ἀέναοι κρῆναι πίσυρες ῥέον, ἃς ἐλάχηνεν
Ἥφαιστος· καί ῥ' ἡ μὲν ἀναβλύεσκε γάλακτι,
ἡ δ' οἴνῳ, τριτάτη δὲ θυώδεϊ νᾶεν ἀλοιφῇ·
ἡ δ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ προΐεσκε. . . .
228 τοῖ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι Κυταιέος Αἰήταο
τεχνήεις Ἥφαιστος ἐμήσατο θέσκελα ἔργα·

(As they went along, Hera took thought for their protection and spread a thick mist through the city so that the numberless Colchians might not notice them on their way to Aeetes' palace. As soon as they reached the city and Aeetes' palace on emerging from the plain, Hera scattered the fog. They stood in the entrance-way, gazing in amazement at the royal court with its broad gates and the lines of pillars which rose up along the walls; above the palace a stone entablature rested upon bronze capitals. In silence they then stepped over the threshold. . . . Beneath them flowed four permanent springs which Hephaestus had dug out; one gushed forth milk, another wine, a third flowed with fragrant unguent, and the last streamed water. . . . Such then were the divine marvels which the craftsman Hephaestus had devised in the palace of Cytaean Aeetes.)

Od. 7.14 καὶ τότ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὦρτο πόλινδ' ἴμεν· ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθήνη
πολλὴν ἠέρα χεῦε φίλα φρονέουσ' Ὀδυσῆϊ,
μή τις Φαιήκων μεγαθύμων ἀντιβολήσας
κερτομέοι ἐπέεσσι καὶ ἐξερέοιθ' ὅτις εἴη.

(Odysseus meanwhile was setting out on his walk to the town. Athena poured a thick mist around him; this was in kindness to Odysseus, so that no presumptuous townsman who crossed his path should accost him with discourteous words and ask him who he might be.)

Od. 7.40 . . . οὐ γὰρ Ἀθήνη
εἴα ἐϋπλόκαμος, δεινὴ θεός, ἥ ῥά οἱ ἀχλὺν
θεσπεσίην κατέχευε φίλα φρονέουσ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ.
θαύμαζεν δ' Ὀδυσεὺς. . . .

(. . . the goddess of braided hair forbade it, august Athena who in protection had shed the enchanted mist all round him. Odysseus looked wonderingly. . . .)

Od. 7.46 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ βασιλῆος ἀγακλυτὰ δώμαθ' ἵκοντο. . . .

(When they reached the king's noble palace. . . .)

Od. 7.81 . . . αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
Ἀλκινόου πρὸς δώματ' ἴε κλυτά· πολλὰ δέ οἱ κῆρ
ὅρμαιν' ἱσταμένῳ, πρὶν χάλκεον οὐδὸν ἱκέσθαι. . . .
86 χάλκεοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐληλέατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
ἐς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῦ, περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κυάνοιο. . . .

(Meanwhile Odysseus went on his way to the noble palace of Alcinous, and thoughts came thronging through his mind as he halted here and again there before he arrived at the brazen threshold. . . . Walls of bronze ran this way and that, from the entrance to the further end, and these were topped with a frieze of cyanus.)

Od. 7.92 οὓς Ἥφαιστος τεῦξεν ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι. . . .

(which Hephaestus in his wit and cunning had fashioned. . . .)

Od. 7.95 ἐν δὲ θρόνοι περὶ τοῖχον ἐρηρέδατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα. . . .

(Inside, to the left and right, . . . there were chairs ranged along the wall. . . .)

Od. 7.113 . . . περὶ δ' ἕρκος ἐλήλαται ἀμφοτέρωθεν. . . .

(. . . with a fence running round, this way and that. . . .)

Od. 7.129 ἐν δὲ δύω κρῆναι ἡ μέν τ' ἀνὰ κῆπον ἅπαντα
σκίδναται, ἡ δ' ἑτέρωθεν ὑπ' αὐλῆς οὐδὸν ἵησι
πρὸς δόμον ὑψηλόν, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται.
τοῖ' ἄρ' ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο θεῶν ἔσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα. . . .

(. . . there are two springs of water, and one of these is channelled out over the whole space of garden; the other, facing it, flows under the entrance of the courtyard to issue in front of the lofty palace; and from this the townspeople drew their water. Such were the gods' sumptuous gifts in the demesne of King Alcinous. . . .)

Od. 7.135 καρπαλίμως ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἐβήσετο δώματος εἴσω. . . .

(. . . [Odysseus] stepped quickly over the threshold into the house.)

Od. 7.139 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ διὰ δῶμα . . . Ὀδυσσεύς
πολλὴν ἠέρ' ἔχων, ἥν οἱ περίχευεν Ἀθήνη. . . .

(. . . then Odysseus strode down the hall, with the mist from Athena covering him. . . .)

Od. 7.143 καὶ τότε δή ῥ' αὐτοῖο πάλιν χύτο θέσφατος ἀήρ.

(. . . the enchanted mist rolled back at once to disclose the hero. . . .)

3.329 αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ καὶ βρῶσιν ἅλις καὶ εἵματ' ἔδωκαν. . . .

('. . . since they gave us food in abundance and fresh clothes. . . .')

Od. 7.238 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; τίς τοι τάδε εἵματ' ἔδωκεν;

('Who are you and where have you travelled from? Who gave you the

clothes you are wearing now?')

Od. 7.295 ἤ μοι σῖτον δῶκεν ἅλις ἠδ' αἴθοπα οἶνον,
καὶ λοῦσ' ἐν ποταμῷ, καί μοι τάδε εἵματ' ἔδωκε.

('She offered me food in plenty, with glowing wine; she saw to it that I bathed in the river; she gave me the garments that you see.')

3.329 αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ καὶ βρῶσιν ἅλις καὶ εἵματ' ἔδωκαν,
Od. 6.20 = 246 ἀλλὰ δότ', ἀμφίπολοι, ξείνῳ βρῶσίν τε πόσιν τε

('So come, girls, offer the stranger food and drink . . .')

3.443 θεσπέσιον δ' ἐν πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν Αἴσονος υἱὸς
κάλλεϊ καὶ χαρίτεσσιν· ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ὄμματα κούρη
λοξὰ παρὰ λιπαρὴν σχομένη θηεῖτο καλύπτρην. . . .

(. . . and among them all the son of Aeson stood out for his divine beauty and grace. The young girl kept her eyes on him, looking sideways behind her shining veil. . . .)

Od. 6.236 ἕζετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἐπὶ θῖνα θαλάσσης,
κάλλεϊ καὶ χάρισι στίλβων· θηεῖτο δὲ κούρη.

([Odysseus] sat down apart, radiant with handsomeness and grace. The princess looked at him in wonder.)

3.670 διὰ δ' ἔσσυτο θαμβήσασα
ἐκ θαλάμου θάλαμον δὲ διαμπερές, ᾧ ἔνι κούρη
κέκλιτ' ἀκηχεμένη,

(. . . in amazement she rushed to the chamber in which the young girl lay in her distress. . . .)

Od. 6.15 βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἐς θάλαμον πολυδαίδαλον, ᾧ ἔνι κούρη
κοιμᾶτ'. . . .

(She made her way to the sumptuous bedroom where slept a girl. . . .)

3.838 κέκλετο δ' ἀμφιπόλοισιν, αἵ οἱ δυοκαίδεκα . . .
841 ἐσσυμένως οὐρῆας ὑποζεύξασθαι ἀπήνῃ,
οἵ κέ μιν εἰς Ἑκάτης περικαλλέα νηὸν ἄγοιεν.
ἔνθ' αὖτ' ἀμφίπολοι μὲν ἐφοπλίζεσκον ἀπήνην. . . .

(She had twelve maidservants . . . she told them quickly to yoke mules to a wagon so that she might travel to Hecate's glorious shrine. While the maids were preparing the wagon. . . .)

3.869 ἐκ δὲ θύραζε κιοῦσα θοῆς ἐπεβήσατ' ἀπήνης·
σὺν δέ οἱ ἀμφίπολοι δοιαὶ ἑκάτερθεν ἔβησαν.
αὐτὴ δ' ἡνί' ἔδεκτο καὶ εὐποίητον ἱμάσθλην
δεξιτερῇ. ἔλαεν δὲ δι' ἄστεος· αἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλαι
ἀμφίπολοι, πείρινθος ἐφαπτόμεναι μετόπισθεν,
τρώχων εὐρεῖαν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν. . . .

(Leaving the palace she mounted on the swift wagon, and with her mounted two maidservants, one on each side. She herself took the reins and in her right hand grasped the well-fashioned whip. As she drove through the city, the other maidservants held on to the back of the wagon-car and ran along the broad road. . . .)

3.1152 αὐτομάτοις δὲ πόδεσσι θοῆς ἐπεβήσατ' ἀπήνης,
καί ῥ' ἑτέρῃ μὲν χειρὶ λάβ' ἡνία, τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἱμάσθλην
δαιδαλέην οὐρῆας ἐλαυνέμεν·

(By themselves her feet mounted the swift wagon; with one hand she grasped the reins, and with the other the ornate whip for driving the mules. . . .)

Od. 6.18 πὰρ δὲ δύ' ἀμφίπολοι, Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσαι,
σταθμοῖϊν ἑκάτερθε·

(. . . near her, on either side of the double doors, there slept two handmaids whose loveliness was the Graces' gift. . . .)

Od. 6.37 (Athena) ἡμιόνους καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐφοπλίσαι, ἥ κεν ἄγῃσι. . . .

('. . . to let you have a wagon and mules. They will carry. . . .')

Od. 6.57 (Nausicaa) . . . οὐκ ἂν δή μοι ἐφοπλίσσειας ἀπήνην
ὑψηλὴν εὔκυκλον, ἵνα κλυτὰ εἵματ' ἄγωμαι. . . .

('. . . could you let me have, I wonder, a tall wagon with easy wheels to take our clothes?')

Od. 6.69 . . . ἀτάρ τοι δμῶες ἐφοπλίσσουσιν ἀπήνην. . . .
71 ὣς εἰπὼν δμώεσσιν ἐκέκλετο, τοὶ δ' ἐπίθοντο. . . .
73 . . . ἡμιόνους θ' ὕπαγον ζεῦξάν θ' ὑπ' ἀπήνῃ. . . .

('The servants will get the . . . wagon ready for you. . . .' So he spoke, then called to the servants, and they obeyed. . . . [They] backed the mules towards it and harnessed them.)

Od. 6.78 κούρη δ' ἐπεβήσετ' ἀπήνης. . . .

(. . . the girl mounted the wagon . . .)

Od. 6.81 ἡ δ' ἔλαβεν μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία σιγαλόεντα,
μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν· καναχὴ δ' ἦν ἡμιόνοιϊν·
αἱ δ' ἄμοτον τανύοντο, φέρον δ' ἐσθῆτα καὶ αὐτήν,
οὐκ οἴην, ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι.

(She grasped the whip and the glittering reins and whipped on the pair of mules. Away they clattered and on they trotted unflaggingly, carrying their mistress and the clothes; she was not alone, for her handmaids followed her as well.)

3.871 αὐτὴ δ' ἡνί' ἔδεκτο καὶ εὐποίητον ἱμάσθλην. . . .
δεξιτερῇ. Ἔλαεν δὲ δι' ἄστεος· αἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλαι
ἀμφίπολοι, πείρινθος ἐφαπτόμεναι μετόπισθεν,
τρώχων. . . .

(She herself took the reins and in her right hand grasped the well-fashioned whip. As she drove through the city, the other maidservants held on to the back of the wagon-car and ran. . . .)

Od. 6.316 ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασ' ἵμασεν μάστιγι φαεινῇ
ἡμιόνους· αἱ δ' ὦκα λίπον ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα.
αἱ δ' εὖ μὲν τρώχων. . . .

(So [she] spoke . . ., then touched the mules with her shining whip. Soon the river was left behind, and . . . the mules sped on.)

3.876 οἵη δὲ λιαροῖσιν ἐφ' ὕδασι Παρθενίοιο,
ἠὲ καὶ Ἀμνισοῖο λοεσσαμένη ποταμοῖο,

χρυσείοις Λητωὶς ἐφ' ἅρμασιν ἑστηυῖα
ὠκείαις κεμάδεσσι διεξελάησι κολώνας,
τηλόθεν ἀντιόωσα πολυκνίσου ἑκατόμβης·
τῇ δ' ἅμα Νύμφαι ἕπονται ἀμορβάδες, αἱ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
ἀγρόμεναι πηγῆς Ἀμνισίδος, αἱ δὲ λιποῦσαι
ἄλσεα καὶ σκοπιὰς πολυπίδακας· ἀμφὶ δὲ θῆρες
κνυζηθμῷ σαίνουσιν ὑποτρομέοντες ἰοῦσαν·
ὣς αἵ γ' ἐσσεύοντο δι' ἄστεος, ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ
εἶκον ἀλευάμενοι βασιληίδος ὄμματα κούρης.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόλιος μὲν ἐΰδμήτους λίπ' ἀγυιάς....

(As when after bathing at the sweet waters of the Parthenius, or in the river Amnisus, the daughter of Leto stands in her golden chariot and drives her swift deer through the hills to accept a distant offering of rich sacrifice, and with her go her companion nymphs, some gathering from the very spring of Amnisus, others leaving the groves and the mountain-peaks with their many streams; around her the wild beasts whimper and fawn in fear. Like this did they hasten through the city, and all around the people made way for them, avoiding the eyes of the royal maiden. When she had left behind the solid city roads....)

Od. 6.102 οἵη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἶσι κατ' οὔρεα ἰοχέαιρα,
ἢ κατὰ Τηΰγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον,
τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείῃς ἐλάφοισι·
τῇ δέ θ' ἅμα νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι· γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ·
πασέων δ' ὑπὲρ ἥ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα,
ῥεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι·
ὣς ἥ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἀδμής.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἄρ' ἔμελλε πάλιν οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι....

(106 ἀγρόμεναι v. l.)

(It was just as when Artemis the huntress ranges the mountain-side—on lofty Taygetus, it may be, or it may be on Erymanthus—taking her pleasure among the boars and the running deer; country nymphs, daughters of Zeus who holds the aegis, are all around her and share her pastime; Leto is glad at heart. With head and forehead Artemis overtops the rest, and though all are lovely, there is no mistaking which is she. So it was now; among her maidens, this unwedded girl was beyond compare. But as she began to think it time to... journey home again....)

3.922 οἷον Ἰήσονα θῆκε Διὸς δάμαρ ἤματι κείνῳ
ἠμὲν ἐς ἄντα ἰδεῖν ἠδὲ προτιμυθήσασθαι.
τὸν καὶ παπταίνοντες ἐθάμβεον αὐτοὶ ἑταῖροι
λαμπόμενον χαρίτεσσιν·

(... such a man as on that day Jason was made by Zeus' wife, both to look upon and to hear speaking. Even his companions as they stared were amazed at how he shone with beauty and grace.)

Od. 6.229 τὸν μὲν Ἀθηναίη θῆκεν, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,
μείζονά τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα....

(. . . Athena the child of Zeus gave him ampler stature and ampler presence. . . .)

235 ὣς ἄρα τῷ κατέχευε χάριν κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ὤμοις.
ἕζετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἐπὶ θῖνα θαλάσσης,
κάλλεϊ καὶ χάρισι στίλβων· θηεῖτο δὲ κούρη.

(. . . just so the goddess gave added beauty to the head and shoulders of Odysseus. Then he walked to the water's edge and sat down apart, radiant with handsomeness and grace. The princess looked at him in wonder.)

3.985 πρός σ' αὐτῆς Ἑκάτης μειλίσσομαι ἠδὲ τοκήων
καὶ Διός, ὃς ξείνοις ἱκέτῃσί τε χεῖρ' ὑπερίσχει·
ἀμφότερον δ' ἱκέτης ξεῖνός τέ τοι ἐνθάδ' ἱκάνω. . . .

('I beseech you, by Hecate herself and your parents and Zeus who holds his hand over guests and suppliants: I have come here, both your suppliant and your guest. . . .')

Od. 7.24 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος ἐνθάδ' ἱκάνω
τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης·

('I am travel-worn, a stranger from far away. . . .')

Od. 7.164 . . . ἵνα καὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ
σπείσομεν, ὅς θ' ἱκέτῃσιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

('. . . then we may make libation to Zeus the Thunderer, the patron of venerable suppliants.')

3.986 καὶ Διός, ὃς ξείνοις ἱκέτῃσί τε χεῖρ' ὑπερίσχει·
ἀμφότερον δ' ἱκέτης ξεῖνός τέ τοι ἐνθάδ' ἱκάνω. . . .

('. . . and [by] Zeus who holds his hand over guests and suppliants: I have come here, both your suppliant and your guest. . . .')

2.1131 ἀλλ' ἱκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἵνεκεν αἰδέσσασθε
Ξεινίου Ἱκεσίου τε· Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἱκέται τε
καὶ ξεῖνοι, ὁ δέ που καὶ ἐπόψιος ἄμμι τέτυκται.

('Show respect for suppliants and strangers, remembering Zeus the protector of strangers and suppliants: both suppliants and strangers belong to Zeus, and on our behalf he is also no doubt the observer.')

Od. 6.207 πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες
ξεῖνοί τε πτωχοί τε. . . .

('. . . because Zeus is patron of every stranger and every beggar. . . .')

3.1069 μνώεο δ', ἢν ἄρα δή ποθ' ὑπότροπος οἴκαδ' ἵκηαι,
οὔνομα Μηδείης. . . .

('If ever you return home safe, remember the name of Medea. . . .')

3.1109 ἀλλ' οἶον τύνη μὲν ἐμεῦ, ὅτ' Ἰωλκὸν ἵκηαι,
μνώεο. . . .

('Only, when you reach Iolcus, remember me. . . .')

3.1124 . . . οἱ δέ σε πάγχυ θεὸν ὣς πορσανέουσιν,
οὕνεκα . . .

1126 . . . τῶν δ' αὖτε κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε
καὶ θαλεροὶ κακότητος ἄδην ἐσάωθεν ἀκοῖται.

('. . . they will pay court to you reverently like a god, because . . . their brothers, kinsmen and husbands in their prime were saved from disaster.')

Od. 8.461 χαῖρε, ξεῖν', ἵνα καί ποτ' ἐὼν ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ
μνήσῃ ἐμεῖ', ὅτι μοι πρώτῃ ζωάγρι' ὀφέλλεις.

('Friend, all good go with you, so that when hereafter you are in your own land you may remember me, and how to me you owe the ransoming of your life.')

Od. 8.467 τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθι θεῷ ὣς εὐχετοῴμην
αἰεὶ ἤματα πάντα· σὺ γάρ μ' ἐβιώσαο, κούρη.

('. . . and then there also, through all my days, your name on my lips will be like a god's, because you gave me my life, Nausicaa.')

1.896–97 μνώεο μήν, ἀπεὼν περ ὁμῶς καὶ νόστιμος ἤδη,
(Hypsipyle) Ὑψιπύλης·

('On your voyage and when you have returned, please remember Hypsipyle. . . .')

3.1057 λάθρῃ λᾶαν ἄφες στιβαρώτερον·

('. . . then without being seen throw a heavy stone among them.')

Od. 8.186 λάβε δίσκον
μείζονα καὶ πάχετον, στιβαρώτερον. . . .

(. . . he seized a discus; it was big and thick, by far more massive. . . .)

Od. 8.192 λᾶος ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς·[421]

(. . . as the stone rushed by.)

3.788 (Medea) αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν αὐτῆμαρ, ὅτ' ἐξανύσειεν ἄεθλον,
τεθναίην. . . .

('. . . on that very day, when he has accomplished the task, may I find death. . . .')

Od. 8.21 ὥς κεν . . .
22 . . . ἐκτελέσειεν ἀέθλους. . . .

(. . . so that . . . he . . . should pass victoriously through the trials. . . .)

3.1043 ἐν δέ οἱ ἀλκὴ
ἔσσετ' ἀπειρεσίη μέγα τε σθένος, οὐδέ κε φαίης

('Your body will possess boundless might and great strength, and you will not think yourself. . . .')

Od. 8.136 αὐχένα τε στιβαρὸν μέγα τε σθένος· οὐδέ τι ἥβης
δεύεται,

('. . . the firm-set neck, all the massive strength. He is in his prime. . . .')

4.995 Ἀλκίνοος λαοί τε θυηπολίῃσιν ἰόντας
δειδέχατ' ἀσπασίως. . . .

(Alcinous and his people welcomed them warmly with sacrifices. . . .)

---

[421] The comparative of στιβαρός 'strong' occurs only here in Homer and Apollonius.

Od. 7.69 ὣς κείνη περὶ κῆρι τετίμηταί τε καὶ ἔστιν
ἔκ τε φίλων παίδων ἔκ τ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλκινόοιο
καὶ λαῶν, οἵ μίν ῥα θεὸν ὣς εἰσορόωντες
δειδέχαται μύθοισιν, ὅτε στείχῃσ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ.

('Such has always been, and such still is, the honour paid to Arete by Alcinous and by her children and by the people here, who gaze at her as at a divinity and greet her with loyal words whenever she walks about the town.')

4.1011 κούρη δ' οὐλομένῳ ὑπὸ δείματι πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοὺς
Αἰσονίδεω ἑτάρους μειλίσσετο, πολλὰ δὲ χερσὶν
Ἀρήτης γούνων ἀλόχου θίγεν Ἀλκινόοιο·
'γουνοῦμαι, βασίλεια· σὺ δ' ἵλαθι, μηδέ με Κόλχοις
ἐκδώῃς ᾧ πατρὶ κομιζέμεν, εἴ νυ καὶ αὐτὴ
ἀνθρώπων γενεῆς μία φέρβεαι....
1025 ... ἀλλ' ἐλέαιρε,
πότνα, τεόν τε πόσιν μειλίσσεο· σοὶ δ' ὀπάσειαν
ἀθάνατοι βίοτόν τε τελεσφόρον ἀγλαΐην τε
καὶ παῖδας καὶ κῦδος ἀπορθήτοιο πόληος.'

(Gripped by deadly fear, the young girl offered many pleas to the comrades of the son of Aeson, and many times she touched the knees of Arete, wife of Alcinous: 'I beg you by your knees, queen! Show kindness to me! Do not give me over to the Colchians to be taken back to my father! You too belong to the mortal race.... Take pity on me, lady, and try to win over your husband. May the immortals grant you both a life of fulfilment and all splendour, children, and the glory of an unravaged city.')

Od. 7.142 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἀρήτης βάλε γούνασι χεῖρας Ὀδυσσεύς....
146 'Ἀρήτη, θύγατερ Ῥηξήνορος ἀντιθέοιο,
σόν τε πόσιν σά τε γούναθ' ἱκάνω πολλὰ μογήσας,
τούσδε τε δαιτυμόνας, τοῖσιν θεοὶ ὄλβια δοῖεν
ζωέμεναι, καὶ παισὶν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἕκαστος
κτήματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γέρας θ' ὅ τι δῆμος ἔδωκεν....'

(... then [Odysseus] put his hands round Arete's knees.... 'Arete, daughter of great Rhexenor; after much affliction I come as a suppliant to your knees; I come to your husband and your guests; I pray that the gods may grant them happiness all their lives and that each of them may bequeath his children the wealth that he has in his own halls and whatever rights his people have granted him....')

Od. 6.149 γουνοῦμαί σε, ἄνασσα· θεός νύ τις ἦ βροτός ἐσσι;

('In supplication I come to you, my lady—lady of heaven shall I call you, or of earth?')

Od. 6.153 εἰ δέ τίς ἐσσι βροτῶν, τοὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσι....

('But if you are mortal, one of those who have earth for dwelling-place....')

Od. 6.175 ἀλλά, ἄνασσ', ἐλέαιρε....

('But you, my lady, must have compassion....')

Od. 6.180 σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς,

ἄνδρα τε καὶ οἶκον καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην ὀπάσειαν
ἐσθλήν·

('As for yourself, may the gods enrich you with every thing that your heart desires—may they bring you a husband and a home and the oneness of mind that means content.')

4.1114 . . . κήρυκα καλεσσαμένη. . . .

(She . . . summoned her herald. . . .)

4.1121 ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη· τὸν δ' αἶψα πόδες φέρον ἐκ μεγάροιο. . . .

1126 γήθησε δὲ θυμὸς ἑκάστου
ἡρώων. . . .

(When she finished speaking, the herald swiftly left the palace. . . . The heart of every hero rejoiced. . . .)

Od. 8.482 ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη, κῆρυξ δὲ φέρων ἐν χερσὶν ἔθηκεν
ἥρῳ Δημοδόκῳ· ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο, χαῖρε δὲ θυμῷ.

(So he spoke; the page carrried off the gift and placed it in the hands of Demodocus, and he on his part received it joyfully)

4.1019 ἴστω ἱερὸν φάος Ἠελίοιο,
ἴστω νυκτιπόλου Περσηΐδος ὄργια κούρης,
μὴ μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλουσα . . .
. . . ἀφωρμήθην·

('Be witness the holy light of Helios, be witness the rites of the night-wandering daughter of Perses, against my will did I leave. . . .')

Il. 19.258 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα. . . .
Γῆ τε καὶ Ἠέλιος καὶ Ἐρινύες, αἵ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, . . .
μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ κούρῃ Βρισηΐδι χεῖρ' ἐπένεικα. . . .

('Let my witness now be Zeus first of all, . . . Earth and Sun and the Erinyes who punish men below the earth, . . . I swear that I never laid hand on the girl Briseis. . . .')

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GODS OF THE *ARGONAUTICA*

Apollonius takes over the intervention of the gods, one of the most prominent features of heroic epic, and invites comparison with Homer both in the selection of the gods who appear and in their manner of intervention. As usual, he introduces new perspectives within the Homeric frame. It is a measure of Apollonius' success in re-creating the Homeric divine apparatus that it is hard to make firm distinctions between his practice and that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some conclusions, especially by considering how the characters in the poem perceive the gods, and the results of this study shed light on the reasons why the gods have seemed to many commentators to be more remote in Apollonius.

The role of the gods in the economy of the poem is complex. On one level, they are characters who interact with one another and with the other characters on earth; but they also provide an extra level of explanation for the actions of human beings and other events which affect them. In addition, they are accessible to the human characters via the formal rituals of religious cult.

The differences between Apollonius' pantheon and Homer's may be broadly delineated as the marginalising or elimination of major Homeric divinities, and the comparative prominence of gods who do not appear in Homer. Other gods, both major and minor, appear to a similar extent in both poets. At the same time, there is a blurring and confusion of categories. The range of gods is expanded, they are mentioned in new contexts, their expected behaviour does not occur, the boundary between divine and human is transgressed, and in some cases Apollonius draws attention to inconsistencies in Homer. The gods are often distanced from the action on earth, as well as intervening less frequently.

We can distinguish occasions when gods appear in the narrative, on earth, on Olympus, or influencing events from an unspecified place (e.g. at 3.818) from their presence in the 'background', for example in aetiological notes, speeches, genealogies or references to events prior to the action. Such a distinction exists also in Homer,

where Demeter and Dionysus only appear in the latter type of context, but in Apollonius such background references are far more common.

There is a variety of standards against which the selection of the gods who appear directly, what one might call the 'active pantheon', can be measured. It is natural to compare them with the gods who are active in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, poems which themselves differ strikingly from one another in this respect. This line of inquiry can easily be extended to include comparison of their characteristics and attributes, as well as allusions to particular Homeric passages, concerns which are similar to those discussed in other chapters.

Homer's pantheon does not correlate closely in membership and relative prominence either with religious practice or with later literature, and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* do not agree between themselves. For example, Demeter and Dionysus are absent from the narrative, whereas other gods, such as Iris and Dione, are prominent in Homer but rare elsewhere. The *Iliad*, where several gods intervene on earth according to their own partisan views, contrasts with the *Odyssey*, where the main divine agent is Athena, who acts to help her favourite, Odysseus, in many different ways. In this respect the *Argonautica* stands midway between the two Homeric epics; several gods are active and come to earth but almost always divine intervention is in support of the Argonauts and is always so when it is a 'physical' intervention.[1] Since the two Homeric epics treat the pantheon differently, the fact that Apollonius introduces further differences need not be construed as a rebellion against Homer, but rather as an instance of epic freedom to deploy the gods in the most appropriate way.

The gods who show concern for the Argonauts can also be compared with the ones whom the heroes actually worship and propitiate. The worship offered by the Argonauts is often linked to a rite still performed in the poet's own time, and this in turn encourages the reader to consider the divine apparatus of the poem in the light of the reality of Hellenistic cults. We cannot, however, assume that Apollonius attempts to reproduce his own beliefs in the theology of the poem. The infrequency of divine intervention compared with

---

[1] One where a god or goddess goes to where the effect is to take place, as opposed to (for example) sending a storm or an omen; this does not imply that they are visible to mortals. Examples: Glaucus in Book 1, Athena in Book 2, Eros in Book 3 and Thetis, Hera, and Triton in Book 4.

Homer or with Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* need not imply a lack of confidence in traditional religion; it can be construed in purely literary terms.[2]

The Argonauts are pious, always performing religious rites where these are expected of them, and the disrespectful attitude of Idas towards the gods (1.466–71) only serves to emphasise the prevailing desire to please them. Despite this, there is a mismatch between the gods the Argonauts honour and those who actually help them. In the case of the gods who intervene directly, the Argonauts pay no devotion to Hera or Aphrodite, but instead worship Apollo and Athena (e.g. 1.409–36, 4.1690–91). Apollo is patron of the expedition (1.412–14) and appears twice, and Athena helped make the ship and Jason's cloak before the poem opens; their involvement is known to the Argonauts, but the other gods are unacknowledged, despite their help. Conversely, the Argonauts worship gods who apparently take no interest in them. They dedicate an altar to Poseidon (4.1621–22), and sing to Artemis (1.569–72), neither of whom appears in the poem, and dedicate another altar to twelve (unspecified) Olympians (2.531), though no such grouping appears elsewhere.[3] The heroes make a distinction which Apollonius himself does not recognise.

This pattern cannot be explained by the constraints of tradition, since (for example) Apollonius could have included the foundation of temples to Hera by the Argonauts near the Silarus in south Italy.[4] The gods who are worshipped and do not appear directly are all Homeric, with the exception of the Cabeiri on Samothrace (1.915–21) (who are exceptional in a number of other ways),[5] implying that the religion practised by the Argonauts has not caught up with the extended pantheon which the reader is introduced to in the poem. This difference can be linked to Apollonius' concern with partial knowledge, mistaken belief and incomplete revelation.[6]

---

[2] Cf. Hunter (1993), 76–77.

[3] Cf. Vian N.C. on 2.532. Such altars were common in the Hellenistic world, including one in the Alexandrian palace area, probably dating from the late 3rd century (Fraser (1972), 208–9).

[4] Cf. *RE* II.1 s.v. 'Argonautai', 770.

[5] They and their island are not named and are identified by association with the un-Homeric Electra, daughter of Atlas, as at Hesiod, frs. 169.1 and 177.5. The details of the ritual are kept secret, in contrast to the detailed descriptions of sacrifice elsewhere. The poet himself intrudes and withholds details of the mysteries as Callimachus does at fr. 75.4–5.

[6] Cf. Feeney (1991), 60–61, and for an example Medea's incomplete knowledge of Aeaea (p. 186).

The devotions of the Argonauts, though not appropriate to the behaviour of the gods in the poem, look forward to the practices of Apollonius' day in the institution of numerous rituals. While the archaeological and literary evidence for third-century Alexandrian custom suggests that aspects of it may be reflected in the *Argonautica*,[7] Apollonius is not compelled to introduce the gods who were important in Ptolemaic cult any more than he is obliged to reproduce the Homeric pantheon exactly. For example, Dionysus is as marginal as he is in Homer, despite official and personal devotion to him in Alexandria.[8] As we have already seen, this divergence from cult is apparently in line with Homeric practice, though the gods involved may be different. Two possible exceptions are the Dioscuri, who double as divinities and Argonauts,[9] and the non-Homeric Rhea.[10]

Religious activity is only a part of the way the world of the divine is presented in the *Argonautica*. Apollonius' choice of the gods who populate the poem, like so many other aspects of it, should be considered in relation to the situation in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In some cases, Homer's gods have undergone little change. The Iliadic partnership of Hera and Athena is 'revived' to help the Argonauts; Hera, the dominant partner, has Odyssean precedent for her support of the heroes (Od. 12.72), and Athena also has the backing of tradition.[11] The protection of the two goddesses foreshadows the help they will give during the Trojan War to the Greeks, many of whose fathers are taking part in the expedition. Hera initiates the intervention in Books 3 and 4, though she comes to earth herself only at 4.640–41 to shout a warning;[12] she stands in the same relation to the Argonauts in general and to Jason in particular as Athena does to Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, even to the extent of performing the same transformations on those she favours (as in the beautification of Jason

[7] On links to the Ptolemaic world in the *Argonautica*, cf. Hunter (1993), ch. 6.

[8] Cf. Fraser (1972), 201–6.

[9] For the evidence, cf. Fraser (1972), v. 1, 207, Hunter (1993), 160–61. However, there was literary precedent for their inclusion as Argonauts (e.g. Pindar, P. 4.172: cf. Köhnken (1965), 90–92).

[10] For Rhea/Cybele in Alexandria, cf. Fraser (1972), v. 1, 277–79. D. A. van Krevelen, "Der Kybelekult in den *Argonautika* des Apollonios von Rhodos," *Rheinisches Museum* n.s. 97 (1954), 75–82 makes a direct link to her rôle in the *Argonautica*. Hunter (1993), 83 is more sceptical; her appearance is also related to Cyzicene traditions.

[11] In building the Argo; cf. L. Klein (1930), 22.

[12] Hera shouts for a different reason in Homer (Il. 5.784–92).

and Odysseus). As Athena's concern for Odysseus makes her help others such as Telemachus, so Hera's affection for Jason causes her to help the Argonauts as a group. Hera still harbours strong feelings towards particular mortals or groups of mortals; her hatred of Pelias and desire for vengeance on him (3.64–65, 3.74–75, 3.1134–36, 4.242–43) resembles her attitude towards the Trojans (e.g. Il. 4.44–67). Athena resembles more the protective Athena of the *Odyssey* than the more bellicose Athena of the *Iliad*. Like Athena in the *Odyssey*, she is apparently absent for large stretches of the poem.[13] When she becomes the first Olympian to come to earth and helps the Argo through the Symplegades, it looks as if she will assume her Odyssean rôle, but thereafter she always appears as subordinate to Hera.

Some of the lesser gods, such as Iris, Thetis and Aeolus, take over their Homeric functions; along with Hera and Athena, they are the pivotal 'Homeric' core around which the others vary. Iris is the messenger of the gods as she is in the *Iliad*.[14] Thetis, who appears with Iris in Book 4, performs a similar function to the one she assumes in the *Iliad*, linking the worlds of gods and men. In both poems her family relationship to certain mortals (Peleus, Achilles) is important and is exploited for pathos. Less important gods may also appear to the same extent as they do in Homer. Aeolus has a similar rôle to the one he has in the *Odyssey* in providing good winds, and Hephaestus appears in his forge, in the same section as Aeolus (4.775–77, 4.956–80), though neither god speaks. As in Homer, Erinyes only act once in the main narrative, though they are mentioned elsewhere.[15] Thus far, then, the depiction of the gods who appear mostly follows Homeric precedent.

---

[13] On Athena's absence in the *Odyssey*, cf. J. S. Clay, *The Wrath of Athena* (Princeton: 1983) 43–53.

[14] She carries out instructions from other Olympians (4.753–79) as at Il. 24.77, Il. 24.143–59, and stops the sons of Boreas (2.286–300), in the latter case apparently acting on her own initiative as she does at Il. 3.121–40; cf. H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Götter im homerischen Epos* (Berlin: 1986) 59–60. Cf. also Call. hy. 4.216–32.

[15] Erinyes act at 4.475–76 (noting the murder of Apsyrtus), silencing Xanthus (Il. 19.418); their intervention in the *Argonautica* is not followed up except by the sacrifice to the Erinyes (4.714). Od. 15.231–34 is outside the main narrative. In Apollonius they are used as a threat (3.703–4, 4.385–86); on Apollonius' innovation in the former passage cf. G. Vagnone, "Omerismi e non in Apollonio Rodio (Argon. 3.701 sgg.): il desiderio di morte," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 46 (1994), 75–78. The latter threat of persecution by Medea's Erinyes is realised at E. Med. 1260 when Medea is called an Erinys; for her children's Erinyes cf. E. Med. 1389–90.

In other cases, apparently familiar gods do not behave in the expected way. The most outstanding example is the rewriting of Zeus, which alters the balance of the whole pantheon; not only does he not come to earth (as Homer's Zeus does not), but he is further marginalised by not appearing in person at all. Zeus is always just around the corner; he influences the action by sending winds (2.993–94, 2.1098),[16] and his will is mentioned by the narrator (1.1345–48, 4.557–61), or by a character (3.328)[17] and harmonised with Μοῖρα 'fate' (1.1315–17, contrast Il. 16.433–38),[18] but as in tragedy he is never visible and does not speak. Even in punishing the Argonauts after the death of Apsyrtus (4.557–61) his action is a copy of Poseidon's wrath in the *Odyssey* in securing a delayed and difficult *nostos* for the heroes[19] and is not based on the behaviour of Homer's Zeus; unlike Hera, Athena and Aphrodite he does not recall his Homeric predecessor. Nevertheless, the effect Zeus has on the other gods has not changed. At the beginning of Book 3 Hera and Athena meet apart from Zeus and the other gods (3.8–9). This secretive planning recalls *Iliad* 8, which leads the reader to expect a similar sequel, with Zeus catching the scheming goddesses (Il. 8.397–437), but this expectation is frustrated. Zeus has, however, behaved differently in the past.[20] His amatory adventures are mentioned, as they are in Homer;[21] but the only two which are described in any detail both end in his rejection (by Sinope 2.946–54, by Thetis 4.793–804).[22] Despite Hera's complaints of Zeus' infidelities (4.794–95) he does not appear to be very successful as a lover, although aetiological notes and the genealogies of the Argonauts would have given opportunities to mention more successful seductions. Jason has more success with women than

---

[16] And in the *proecdosis* (1.518πρ).

[17] For Zeus' νόος 'will' in the poem, cf. Feeney (1991), 60–61. There is nothing so bold as Call. hy. 4.259, where Zeus removes Hera's anger. De la Ville de Mirmont (1894), 215 sees Zeus' 'remoteness' as similar to the beliefs of Aratus and other contemporaries, but it is not necessary to look for an explanation outside the epic itself. Margolies (1981), 169–70 claims that Hera's will replaces Zeus' because women dominate in the poem, though the replacement is by no means complete. On the function of Zeus' will in removing Heracles, cf. Collins (1967), 94.

[18] de la Ville de Mirmont (1894), 184–85.

[19] On this similarity, cf. Hunter (1993), 80 and n. 20.

[20] In Homer too his behaviour differed, in his violence towards other gods; cf. Whitman (1958), 225.

[21] Il. 14.315–28, Od. 11.260–68.

[22] Europa and Ganymede are also mentioned (4.1643, 3.115–17), but only with the latter is there a (very brief) erotic context (3.117).

the king of the gods himself! Another unexpected aspect of the presentation of Zeus is the mentioning of his birth and youth (1.508–11, 2.1233–34, 3.132–34), as in Callimachus' Hymn to Zeus.[23] This theme exemplifies Apollonius' interest both in children and in the generation preceding Zeus.

Aphrodite, like Zeus, is distanced; she is known only as Κύπρις 'Cypris' or Κυθέρεια 'Cythereia',[24] and is associated with the un-Homeric Eros. However, her brief interventions echo early epic in language,[25] and in the opening scene of Book 3 she is as weak as she is in *Iliad* 5.[26] Despite her importance (2.423–24) she does not come to earth in person, except where she saves Boutes (4.917–19) as she saves Paris and Aeneas in the *Iliad*; this intervention is, however, left vague.[27]

Apollo appears to behave more Homerically in actually appearing to the Argonauts (2.674–84, 4.1706–10), and is the only major Olympian to do so, but both epiphanies are vehicles for experiment. In neither epiphany does Apollo speak, and both include an address to the god in the vocative, as in a hymn (2.708–10, 4.1706–9).[28] In both he carries his bow, an attribute taken over from Homer (2.678, 4.1708–9, cf. Il. 1.49, Il. 24.605); but in Book 4 it is uncertain whether the Argonauts recognise Apollo's bow (possibly remembering it from 2.678) or see only a shaft of light. At 2.674–84 Apollo pays no attention to the Argonauts but passes on his way northwards.[29] In both epiphanies the response of the Argonauts is to found an altar (2.694–95, 4.1714–17), rather than simply to sacrifice as in Homer (e.g. Od. 3.418–20).

The 'distancing' is completed by removing several Olympians

---

[23] On Callimachus' portrayal of the gods as children, cf. A. W. Bulloch, "The Future of a Hellenistic Illusion: Some Observations on Callimachus and Religion," *MH* 41 (1984), 216–19. In both poems the adult Zeus is portrayed less vividly than the young god.

[24] On Apollonius' preference for these names over 'Αφροδίτη, cf. Fantuzzi (1988), 155–63.

[25] 1.850/HHAph 2, 1.1232/Od. 22.298, 4.917–19/Hes. Th. 988–91.

[26] Cf. Lennox (1980), 59.

[27] Il. 3.373–82, Il. 5.311–17. On these interventions of Aphrodite, cf. Slatkin (1991), 41–42.

[28] 2.708–10 recalls Call. h. 2.36–40; cf. R. L. Hunter, "Apollo and the Argonauts; Two Notes on Ap. Rhod. 2, 669–719," *MH* 43 (1986), 57. Unlike Callimachus' Apollo, Apollonius' does not speak to mortals (contrast hy. 2.65) or change shape (h. 2.66–67).

[29] Cf. Hunter (1986), 51–52.

altogether from the action. Demeter and Dionysus[30] are not active in Homer either, but it is stranger to find Artemis, Hermes, Poseidon and Ares[31] relegated to the background. Artemis and Ares are not active in the *Odyssey*; Apollonius continues this Odyssean development by excluding more gods. This is not simply due to the constraints of tradition; Apollonius had precedents or opportunities for including some of the gods he leaves out. Helios, Aeetes' father, could have appeared as at Od.12.376–83, for example when Aeetes appeals to him (4.229); instead, Selene appears (4.54–66). Similarly, Hermes could have intervened with the Harpies as in other accounts (Σ ad 2.286), but Apollonius substitutes Iris. If some scenes involving the gods, such as the opening of Book 3, are the poet's invention, the omission of certain gods is equally his own choice.

However, the absence of so many Olympians does not leave a vacuum in the divine apparatus of the *Argonautica*, since there is a large company of other gods to fill the gap. The most striking additions are the 'mystery' and Oriental gods,[32] who are absent from Homeric religion. Not only are these divinities the object of religious devotion, but two act directly to influence events on earth and respond to rituals honouring them. Medea is a priestess of Hecate, the main chthonic divinity active in the *Argonautica*, who appears at 3.1212–23;[33] Hecate's identification with Persephone and Artemis is left open. The Mother of the Gods (1.1094, 1.1125, 1.1128) becomes Rhea (1.1139, 1.1151), who is Zeus' mother in Homer (Il. 14.203, Il. 15.187),

[30] Demeter is known only as 'Deo' (3.413, 4.896, 4.986, 4.988); this name is also frequent in Callimachus and first occurs at HHDem 47, cf. Richardson ad loc., Hopkinson on Call. h. 6.17. Unlike the substitution of Κύπρις for 'Αφροδίτη there is no metrical justification; Apollonius is being recherché. Cf. S. Jackson, "Apollonius of Rhodes and the Corn Goddess: a Note on Arg. 4.869-76," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 13 (1990), 56. Dionysus is mentioned at 1.116–17, 2.904–10, 4.424–34, 4.540, cf. Il. 6.132–36, Il. 14.325, Od. 11.325, Od. 24.74.

[31] Artemis appears in connexion with places the Argonauts visit, and in a simile (3.876–84). She retains her Homeric rôle as slayer of women (3.774) and is not given the range of functions she has in Callimachus' third *Hymn*. Hermes, like Zeus, has behaved more characteristically in the past, by coming to earth to help Phrixus (2.1144–45, 3.587–88, 4.120–21). Ares appears in similes (2.1205–6, 3.1282–83), and has close links with Colchis and the island near by. Poseidon is also the subject of a simile (3.1240–45); it has been conjectured that he is also responsible for the loss of Hylas (Clauss (1993), 180–97).

[32] For the prominence of these gods in Hellenistic religion, cf. L. H. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions* (New York: 1987), 58–89.

[33] She is first mentioned at 3.467 by Medea and first named at 3.478. Her genealogy is taken from Hes. Th. 409–11.

but who does not appear in Homer's narrative, and is given her Homeric name, not Cybele/Cybebe.[34] The interventions of both these goddesses allude to Homer's Circe, linking them to one of Homer's more mysterious goddesses and integrating their actions into a pattern of Circaean allusions in the poem.[35] Rhea also makes the earth bloom as it does during Zeus' seduction.[36] These extra-Homeric goddesses act in ways recalling Homer.

Greater prominence is given to the generations of gods who preceded Zeus, who are more important in Hesiod's *Theogony* than in Homer.[37] Apart from Rhea, Prometheus also appears directly in the narrative (2.1248–59). Others are mentioned as 'background' or introduced into parallel narratives such as the cloak and Orpheus' song; several are associated with Colchis.[38] The older gods are thus part of the exotic background to Book 3, but appear elsewhere, for example in Orpheus' song (1.496–511) and in the etymology of Drepane (4.984–90). In this last case one of the two alternatives for the island's name is pre-Olympian, the other Olympian, though it still involves the Titans (4.989). This feature of the pantheon may be explained by the poem's being set a generation earlier than Homer; it is in mythological time nearer to the time before Zeus ruled, and even the gods are younger. It is also another way of pushing Zeus into the background.

There is also an array of minor divinities connected with the sea or with water. Hylas becomes quite literally a 'nympholept' as he is abducted by a nymph (1.1221–39); the Nereids carry the Argo through the Wandering Rocks (4.930–67). Glaucus and Triton (1.1310–28, 4.1551–91) are almost the only gods to address the Argonauts as a group directly; each of them holds on to the stern of the ship (1.1313–14, 4.1609; only here designated as ὁλκαῖον/ὁλκήϊον). These gods

---

[34] Possibly reflecting local tradition; on Cyzicene inscriptions she is generally called the 'Mother'. Cf. Hasluck, (1910), 214.

[35] The ritual invoking Hecate resembles that Circe gives to Odysseus, and animals respond to Rhea as they do to Circe (οὐρῇσιν . . . (-)σαίνοντες 'fawning with their tails' (1.1145, Od. 10.215) (cf. pp. 181, 189).

[36] Il. 14.347–49/1.1142–43, esp. Il. 14.347 χθὼν . . . φύεν . . . ποίην/1.1143 φύε γαῖα . . . ἄνθεα ποίης 'the earth sent up [flowers from] the grass'. Cf. Callimachus' first *Hymn*, where also she makes the earth produce springs (Call. h. 1.28–32, cf. 1.1145–49), Call. fr. 193. 35–36, epig. 40, A.P. 6.220 (Dioscorides).

[37] Cf. de la Ville de Mirmont (1894), v. 1.

[38] The Colchians worship Gaia (3.699, 3.716 (as θεῶν μήτηρ 'mother of the gods')); a possible etymological link with Αἶα/γαῖα? (cf. Lesky (1948), 45–47), and Ouranos (3.699, 3.715). Aeetes' wife is an Oceanid (3.243–44, cf. Hes. Th. 958–60). Aeetes owns Mimas' breastplate (3.1226–27), Medea has the Prometheion (3.845–66).

replace Poseidon in the same way as Zeus is supplanted by the activities of other gods on Olympus and elsewhere.

The foregoing enumeration of the gods of the *Argonautica* conceals the various ways in which the boundaries of divinity are blurred. One of these ways is the appearance of gods whose names also occur as common nouns elsewhere in the poem; some, such as Helios, were already found in Homer, but Apollonius deliberately plays on the ambiguity of their status. Most notable is Aphrodite's son Eros,[39] who appears on Olympus with the 'Homeric' Ganymede, and intervenes on earth by shooting Medea. The Eros and Erotes of Book 3 who appear after Eros' intervention have presented editors with the dilemma of whether to capitalise their names.[40] Likewise Boreas, whose sons are active members of the expedition, is also the north wind with no hint of personification. This ambiguity is pointed by an internal echo:

> 2.273 . . . δύω υἷες Βορέαο
> φάσγαν᾽ ἐπισχόμενοι ὀπίσω θέον. ἐν γὰρ ἔηκε
> Ζεὺς μένος ἀκάματόν σφιν·
> (In pursuit of them raced the two sons of Boreas, their swords drawn. Zeus granted them unwearying strength. . . .)
> 2.1098 Ζεὺς δ᾽ ἀνέμου Βορέαο μένος κίνησεν ἀῆναι,
> (. . . Zeus stirred up the blast of the North Wind. . . .)

Zeus strengthens Boreas' sons, and later stirs up their father. This elusiveness suggests Boreas' Protean capacity to change shape, known from Homer (Il. 20.223–24). However, like Homer, Apollonius does not introduce many of the allegorical gods which are characteristic of the *Theogony*. The Homeric Themis is mentioned by Hera (4.800–2, cf. Il. 15.87), and the Argonauts erect a sanctuary to Homonoia (2.717–19).

The boundaries between divine and human are also confused in the case of several Argonauts who either become gods or at least do not suffer the usual fate after death. After Heracles is lost to the expedition, Glaucus prophesies his immortality (1.1319); he is never forgotten and almost reappears in Book 4.[41] The Dioscuri are also

---

[39] On the development of Eros' attributes, cf. Klein (1930), 28–30. For Eros in post-Homeric literature, cf. *RE* VI.1 s.v. 'Eros' 493–97, P. E. Easterling, "Literary Tradition and the Transformations of Cupid," *Didaskalos* 5 (1977), 327–37.

[40] Campbell, *Studies*, 130–31, attempts to make distinctions. Cf. also Hunter on 3.1018. Feeney (1991), 76, claims that Ares is the only god whose name is used metonymically.

[41] Cf. Feeney (1986), 56–65, Hunter (1993), 25–36.

future gods; a temple is promised for them (2.806–10), and another is set up to them (4.651–53), while they are still alive, but Apollonius does not say whether one (or both) of them will be immortal. Medea is due to go to the Elysian fields after death, to join Achilles (4.811–15), as Menelaus is in Homer (Od. 3.561–69). Orpheus is another figure who partakes of the divine, though this aspect of his character is not prominent in Apollonius' poem, unlike the *Orphic Argonautica.* The only god to appear disguised as a human being, Triton, chooses the form of a young man (4.1551), making himself as similar as possible to the Argonauts and thereby further blurring the distinction between the Argonauts and the gods they honour.

The opposite of this process is the encounter with the Hesperides, whom the Argonauts see crumble into dust (4.1408–9) and then metamorphose into trees (4.1423–28). However, this change is briefly reversed so that Aigle may address them (4.1428–30). Permanent metamorphoses are not characteristic of Homer and are generally relegated to stories inserted into the main narrative (such as that of Niobe at Il. 24.602–17). Apollonius innovates by transforming the Hesperides before the eyes of his heroes, then changes them back as if realising that he has transgressed a convention which he should have observed.

Although the gods are still apparently anthropomorphic, this is not emphasised in the *Argonautica.* In Homer the gods, even when in their own shape, are as corporeal as human beings; they eat and bleed,[42] and have their home in a real place, Olympus. Apollonius appears to be less comfortable with their physicality; he only mentions *ichor* in connexion with Prometheus (3.853) and ambrosia in the story of Thetis' failed attempt to make Achilles immortal, where it is an ointment rather than a food (4.871). Both passages are in the past, outside the main narrative, and not connected with a major Olympian; Apollonius includes these Homeric concepts, but pushes them to the sidelines. An exception to this tendency to make the gods insubstantial is the cloud which manages to bear Athena's weight (2.538–39).

Apollonius' treatment of Olympus plays on the problem of whether to identify the home of the gods with the mountain of the same name. In Homer, Olympus can usually be imagined as a mountain, and the gods live both there (e.g. Il. 1.221) and in the sky (Il. 1.497,

---

[42] On Homer's cautious indications of the gods' physicality, cf. Kirk (1990), 10–12.

Il. 5.749). Occasionally these two different locations are combined, for example at Il. 1.195/Il. 1.221 (Athena descends from the sky but returns to Olympus), or Od. 20.103/Od. 20.113 (the same thunder comes from Olympus and the sky).[43] Later it became more usual for philosophers and poets to put Olympus in the sky.[44] Apollonius is aware of this, calling its gates and path αἰθερίας 'of the air', and οὐρανίη 'heavenly' (3.160–61) and propping it up with two mountains.[45] Like Homer, he sometimes situates the home of the gods on Olympus (2.1232, 1.504), sometimes in the heavens (2.938, 1.1100), but does not reproduce the Homeric Οὐρανὸς Οὔλυμπός τε 'the heaven and Olympus'.

Certain passages emphasise the ambiguous location. At 1.1099 the νιφόεν . . . ἕδος Οὐλύμποιο 'the snowy seat of Olympus' depends on Rhea, equating Olympus with the mountain,[46] and the word ἕδος 'seat' makes the reader think of the residence of the gods,[47] but in the following line the sky is clearly distinguished from mountains as the gods' home as she joins them, ἐξ ὀρέων μέγαν οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβαίνῃ 'whenever she leaves the mountains and climbs to the great vault of heaven'. This passage also raises the question of which gods may be called 'Olympian' as Rhea comes to Olympus (1.1100–2). Later, Οὐλύμποιο . . . πτύχας (3.113) suggests the mountain[48] (cf. Il. 11.77); the context indicates that Olympus is the home of the gods.[49] However, at 3.116 Zeus settles Ganymede in the sky! At 3.1358 the gleam of Jason's armour goes up to Olympus νειόθεν . . . δι' ἠέρος again indicating the sky. At 4.770 Iris leaves Hera on Olympus and dives

[43] Cf. W. M. Sale, "Homeric Olympus and its Formulae," *AJP* 105 (1984), 14–17 on the way the gods in the *Iliad* are variously located in the sky or on the mountain, with the two concepts sometimes being combined.

[44] *RE* XVIII.1, s.v. 'Olympos'. In Call. h. 6.58 Demeter's head touches Olympus; the model, Il. 4.443, has οὐρανός.

[45] Mooney on 3.161 holds that the mountains are in the north, like the Thessalian Olympus, and (on 3.159) the Homeric concept is of a gate leading from the top of that mountain into the sky. Platt (1913), 26–27, reading πόλον, identifies them with the mysterious Parnassus and Caucasus; Vian (N.C. on 3.162) cautiously agrees.

[46] Since her cults (like that founded by the Argonauts) are especially associated with mountains (Burkert (1985), 178). On the 'Olympian' viewpoint of the Argonauts in this scene, cf. Clare (1993), 127–28. The gods have earlier looked down on the Argonauts from the sky as they set sail from Pagasae (1.547–49); their location is clearly distinguished from the mountain-tops on which the Nymphs stand (1.549–50).

[47] ἕδος is regularly so used in Homer, e.g. Il. 5.360, Il. 5.367, Il. 5.868, all in connexion with Olympus.

[48] LSJ s.v. πτύξ II.

[49] Cf. Il. 20.22 (singular).

into the Aegean, after watching Jason and Medea on the west coast of Italy (4.753–54), suggesting that Olympus is in the sky. At 2.300 Iris goes to Olympus, having come οὐρανόθεν 'from heaven' at 2.287. This resembles Athena's descent in Il. 1.195 and 221 cited above. ἀνόρουσεν 'she rose' suggests that she is flying back up to the sky, particularly since she has met the Boreads in mid-air. The ambiguity surrounding Iris' whereabouts is typical of the vagueness and inconsistency of the 'divine geography' of the *Argonautica.* The same verb, ἀνόρουσεν, is used of Athena's ascent to Olympus (2.603), after the passage through the Symplegades.

Apollonius continues Homer's use of the term but makes the anomaly in the location of the gods' home more prominent. He uses the word 'Olympus' in contexts more appropriate to the sky and juxtaposes mountain and sky as the home of the gods. The effect is at one time to take over Homeric conventions but also to confuse the 'divine geography' and distance the gods from the reader and the characters by denying them a fixed place in the cosmos.

Apollonius both extends the pantheon to include non-Homeric gods and diminishes it by marginalising some major Olympians. Like the *Odyssey*, then, the *Argonautica* restricts the number of major Olympians who act, to the extent of excluding Zeus himself. Their place is taken by local gods and by those of the generation before Zeus, though Apollonius still retains the epic framework with scenes on Olympus and divine interventions, using themes and phraseology from Homer.

The intruders into the Homeric pantheon are integrated by giving them epic credentials in various ways; an Olympian home (Eros), Homeric phraseology (Hecate, Rhea) or Hesiodic ancestry (Cabeiri, Hecate). On the other side, some Homeric Olympians, such as Apollo, behave in new ways. Apollonius' pantheon synthesises the Homeric with the non-Homeric but archaic and with later developments. As with other aspects of the poem, the selection of gods takes account of post-Homeric changes, but also treats Homeric themes experimentally. Two of the most significant differences are also in tension with one another; on the one hand there is a greater gulf between gods and men, on the other the dividing line between them becomes less clear. The pattern of innovation within and outside precedents set by Homer can also be seen in the various ways in which the gods behave.

Modes of Action

A list of the gods in the *Argonautica* and their characteristics can only be a very incomplete account of their presence in the poem. Their different ways of affecting events on earth, their relationships with human beings and with each other and human attitudes towards them are equally important, not least because they reveal subtle shifts away from the world of the Homeric epics.

There is no assembly of the gods in the *Argonautica* as there are, for example, in *Iliad* 1, 8 and 24 and *Odyssey* 1 and 5,[50] though a selection of gods meets on Olympus in Book 3 (Hera, Athena and Aphrodite) and in Book 4 (Hera and Thetis), both scenes which draw heavily on Homer.[51] The lack of a 'full session' of the Olympians is a consequence of Zeus' absence from the narrative rather than its cause. However, it is also a manifestation of a more general tendency to present the gods in isolation from one another; this may be seen in the secret meeting of Hera and Athena (3.8–9) and the single nymph who abducts Hylas, as compared with the group in Theocritus (1.1228–39, Theoc. 13.43–54). It also focuses attention on individual gods rather than on the whole group; the pushing of Olympus to the periphery of the narrative puts the reader more in the position of characters in the poem, who have no privileged access to the gods' intentions.

However, this does not mean that the gods spend more time on earth; they generally act without physically coming to the place where intervention is required, usually in a way which can be paralleled in Homer. Hera sheds a mist around the Argonauts (3.210–14, 4.647–48) as Athena does around Odysseus (Od. 7.14–17, 143). The gods frequently put thoughts or emotions into people's heads,[52] or inspire them with courage.[53] Hera beautifies Jason (3.919–26) as Athena does Odysseus (e.g. Od. 6.229–35, Od. 16.173–76). The gods send omens by birds and dreams,[54] which may be interpreted by seers or 'lay people' such as Helen (Od. 15.172–78) or Jason (4.1746–54), or less

---

[50] Cf. P. Händel, "Die Götter des Apollonios als Personen," in *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin: 1963), 372–73.

[51] For the scene in Book 3, cf. Lennox (1980).

[52] E.g. 1.850–52, 3.817–19, 4.22–23, 4.1199–200; cf. Od. 19.479, Il. 1.55.

[53] 2.865–66, cf. Il. 21.547.

[54] Birds: 1.1084–86 and 3.540–43; cf. Od. 15.160–78, Il. 13.821–23, Il. 24.315–21. Dreams: 4.1732–57, cf. e.g. Od. 6.21–47.

often by natural phenomena such as earthquakes and lightning, or other portents.[55] Medea does not interpret signs; instead of being a recipient of divine communications, she is a source of magical power, to some extent replacing the gods who act so little. The closest Homeric equivalent for this aspect of Medea is Circe, a goddess.

The major Olympian gods do not come down to earth in human form; only Triton appears transformed into human shape (4.1551–53).[56] They have, however, done so in the past, since Hera once appeared to Jason as an old woman (3.67–73). In Homer epiphanies of gods in human guise are common, and the gods appear in their own shape less frequently;[57] as in the *Argonautica*, such visits appear to have occurred more often before the poem begins.[58]

There are no conversations between men and the Olympians, only with the minor figures of Aigle and Triton (4.1411–49, 4.1564–85), both late in the poem. Glaucus, Iris, Thetis and the Libyan goddesses (1.1315–25, 2.288–94, 4.856–64, 4.1318–29) do not wait for a reply, and Peleus' encounter with Thetis is as much a reunion between husband and wife as a point of contact between the human and the divine.[59] Again, the situation seems to have been different in the past, since Hermes gave a message to Aeetes (3.587–88), and Argus and Athena collaborated on the building of the Argo shortly before the poem opens, something which is repeatedly pointed out.[60] Further evidence of past contact are the material gifts which the gods have given to mortals.[61] In Homer they give special skills represented concretely (e.g. Il. 2.827) or as abstractions (Il. 6.156–57, 7.288–89 etc.).[62] In Apollonius, however, gifts of skills are expressed only in abstract terms;[63] the generosity of the gods is not represented by

---

[55] E.g. 4.294–97, 4.509–20, cf. e.g. Od. 20.102–4. On this mode of action in Homer, cf. E. M. Papamichael, "Οἱ Ὀλύμπιοι θεοὶ καὶ οἱ σχέσεις τους μὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους," *Dodone* 11 (1982), 35–43.

[56] Cf. Hunter (1993), 78, 89–90. Contrast Call. hy. 6.42–43 where Demeter takes the shape of Nicippe.

[57] Cf. W. Kullman, *Das Wirken der Götter in der Ilias* (Berlin: 1956) 94–95. On the ambiguities in the description of Triton, cf. Feeney (1991), 78–79.

[58] Cf. Richardson on Il. 24.462–70.

[59] Cf. Händel (1963), 373–74. Contrast e.g. Helen's attempted defiance of Aphrodite (Il. 3.395–420), or Odysseus and Athena (Od. 13.226–440).

[60] 1.19, 1.111–12, 1.226, 1.526–27, 1.551, 1.722–24, 2.613–14, 2.1187–89, 3.340, 4.582–83.

[61] E.g. to Aeetes (3.219–34), as to Andromache (Il. 22.470–72).

[62] Cf. Edwards (1987), 129.

[63] Prophecy to Idmon (1.142–45) and Phineus (2.180–81), strength to Periclymenus (1.158–60).

physical objects. The *Argonautica* conforms to the topos which is most eloquently expressed at Catullus 64.384–408, that in past times the gods mixed with human beings more freely.

Glaucus, Triton and Aigle all address the Argonauts as a group; Homer's gods do not address more than one person at a time. There are three epiphanies where gods appear to men without speaking to them; two are the unusual ones of Apollo already mentioned (p. 273), and at 3.1212–20 Hecate appears to Jason alone, after he has called on her. All three of these epiphanies are associated with invocations, either by the poet or by one of the characters, This type of appearance recalls not Homer but the appeals in hymns for the god invoked to appear. As often in the *Argonautica*, the expected conclusion to an action does not occur, as the gods remain silent. Hecate and Apollo, the patrons of Medea and the Argonauts respectively, are not given a voice in the poem.

The gods are also significant by their absence, as there are many occasions when they might be expected to act but apparently do not. Nevertheless, they can be relied upon to act at points where the Argonauts themselves have reached an impasse (such as at the Symplegades, the opening of Book 3, or in Libya).[64] While the gods rarely help the Argonauts, they are still less concerned about opposing them;[65] again, this striking contrast with Homer is only partly explained by its absence from the tradition. There is no shortage of opportunities to make Poseidon take a dislike to the Argonauts, as he does to Odysseus in the *Odyssey* because Odysseus blinds his son Polyphemus; the Argonauts kill his son Amycus and his descendants the Doliones and their return will lead to the death of another son, Pelias. Helios, who is invoked by his son Aeetes (4.229), also appears to take no notice. The only instances of divine opposition to the expedition both concern blood-guilt (the mother of the gods, arguably (1.1078–1102),[66] Zeus (4.557–61, 4.576–91)) and the gods concerned are easily pacified with appropriate offerings; there is no deep

[64] These interventions differ since the first is 'miraculous', whereas Medea's love is also explicable in purely human terms.

[65] Cf. Herter (1944/55), 278, Phinney (1963), 21.

[66] It is unclear that the reason the Argonauts are detained is that they killed their former hosts; Vian I, 37 cautiously asserts this, as does Williams (1991), 90–91, though F. Vian, "Les Γηγενεῖς de Cyzique et la grande mère des dieux," *Revue Archéologique* 37 (1951), 23–24 believes that the ritual purifies the Argonauts after killing the Earthborn and that they have performed sufficient funeral rites for the Doliones. Fränkel, *Noten*, 138–39 suggests that Rhea does not feel anger towards the

personal animosity such as that which Athena displays at Il. 6.311 towards the Trojans and which Poseidon shows to Odysseus in the *Odyssey*. This contrasts with the swift punishment of Erysichthon and Teiresias in Callimachus' *Hymns*, and with that of Paraebius' father by the Nymph (2.482–83, outside the main narrative).

The 'Odyssean' adventures in Book 4 provide a clear demonstration of Apollonius' treatment of the divine, as they invite comparison with Homer in other respects. Although they include one of the principal divine interventions in the *Argonautica*, they show clearly the distancing of the gods; Circe, who is a goddess in Homer, is no longer said to be one, and the Phaeacians no longer feast with the gods or resemble them (cf. pp. 247, 249).

We should not expect a coherent scheme for determining the means by which gods choose to act. For example, Aphrodite makes the nymph desire Hylas (1.1232–33) without apparently intervening physically, yet she finds it necessary to go through the rigmarole of bribing Eros to come down to earth to shoot at Medea to achieve the same effect in Book 3. Unless the name Cypris (1.1233) is purely a metonymy, and the goddess Aphrodite herself is not involved at all,[67] there must be a more 'literary' explanation for this anomaly. Part of the answer lies in the use of divine intervention to underline the importance of an event. Medea's cooperation is essential for Jason's success,[68] and this is reflected in the elaborate divine machinery at the start of Book 3, which parallels the means used by Jason to win Medea's help.[69] The mood of each scene and its setting also help to explain the different modes of intervention. The scene between the nymph and Hylas is imbued with bucolic colour,[70] and the setting in a moonlit glade, with no direct speech, gives a feeling of remoteness; the physical intrusion of a god, whether perceived or not, would break the spell. Finally, the position of the episodes within the structure of the poem suggests why the intervention in Book 3 is more elaborate. The action of Book 3 is framed by 'traditional' scenes; a meeting on Olympus (in which Eros' intervention is planned) and an

Argonauts. Their situation is comparable to that of Agamemnon at Aulis in that they must perform a rite of expiation before they can sail on.

[67] According to Klein (1930), 239.

[68] This is admitted by Hera (3.28–29, 3.87–89), Argus (3.475–80, 3.528–36), Chalciope (3.719–21), Medea herself (3.786), Jason (3.988–89).

[69] Cf. p. 297.

[70] Cf. Zanker (1979), 55–56, Beye (1982), 93–94.

aristeia. A more extended divine intervention is an appropriate sequel to the Olympian plotting which opens the book.

While the gods are able to bring about their desired ends easily, their power to save men from danger is limited at 4.1510–12 (the snake in Libya) as at Od. 12.107 (Charybdis). In Homer it is Circe, a goddess herself, who speaks; in Apollonius the statement comes from the poet and is accompanied by an apology for possible blasphemy. The danger is not a fantastic one, but a snake found near the poet's homeland.[71]

The overall picture is that while most of the lines of communication between gods and men which were available in Homer remain open, they are used less. There are hints that the situation was different in the past, and as in the cases of 'metaliterary' expressions this may also refer to a literary rather than a mythological past, to a closer relationship with the gods which was described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Awareness of the Gods

In the same way as the gods' activity is scaled down in the *Argonautica*, human awareness of it and expectation of it is also reduced. In both Homer and Apollonius the intervention of a god is only sometimes known to human beings. In Homer the possibility of an appearance by a god on earth is sufficiently in men's minds for them to suspect that someone they meet may be a god even if there is no compelling reason to do so or the suspected god is only human.[72] The fact that such conjectures can be made presupposes that men are prepared to find gods on earth in human shape. In other places in Homer gradual revelation of divinity to a mortal is expanded into a whole scene (e.g. Il. 5.114–35, Od. 13.221–440). However, the heroes in the *Argonautica* do not speculate that people they meet may be gods.[73] The only time anyone thinks that they may encounter a god is when Jason, carrying the Golden Fleece, fears that a man or god may meet him and take it away (4.182). Here there is no particular person Jason suspects of being a god; instead he has a general fear of possible opposition.

---

[71] On the 'realism' of Mopsus' death, cf. Hunter (1993), 44.

[72] E.g. Od. 16.183–85, 17.483–87, Il. 5.174–91.

[73] There was a precedent in Pindar, P. 4.87–92; the crowd in Iolcus suggest that Jason could be mistaken for a god, even though he is not one.

In Apollonius the epiphany of Hecate is immediately obvious as such, and Jason is expecting it, but those of Apollo are more ambiguous.[74] It is not made clear that the Argonauts know who Glaucus is; Orpheus appears to recognise the Hesperides, or at least their parentage, as he speaks to them (4.1411–14). In the only case where a god appears disguised as a human being, Triton's divinity is recognised when he suddenly disappears (4.1591–600),[75] subsequently reappearing in his true shape with a fish's tail (4.1602–19). Only the goddesses of Libya obligingly introduce themselves to Jason (4.1322–23). Even in their most direct contact with the gods, the Argonauts may be uncertain about what is really happening.

The differences between human ways of describing divine action in Homer and the way such action is presented by the poet are well set out by Jörgensen, and this approach has been applied to Apollonius by Feeney;[76] I shall give only a brief summary. As in Homer, Apollonius' characters tend to ascribe supernatural action or interest to 'a god' (e.g. 2.438), to 'the gods' (e.g. 2.797) or to Zeus (e.g. 4.1275–76).[77] The distinction between the poet's and the characters' interpretations of events is most obvious when the same action is ascribed by the poet to a named god but more vaguely by a character in the poem, as when Tiphys believes that a god allowed the Argo to pass the Symplegades (2.616) and the reader knows, though Tiphys does not, that this was due to Athena.[78] However, for the most part divine interventions in Apollonius are apparently unacknowledged. This includes cases where the Argonauts could hardly fail to notice gods at work, such as Hera's shout (4.640–44: it is left uncertain whether they recognise it for what it is) and the intervention of the Nereids at the Wandering Rocks (4.930–55), where Thetis has already told Peleus that they will be visible (4.862–64).

Just as people in the poem do not suspect that those they meet may be gods, so they rarely speculate that gods may be involved in a particular situation. When they do so, their speculation is not confirmed by the poet (except in the passage of the Symplegades

---

[74] On the epiphany in Book 2, cf. Hunter (1986), 52–53. On the absence of unambiguous communications from the gods in the *Argonautica*, cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 539 n. 172, A. Henrichs in Bulloch et al. (1993), 194.

[75] Recognition by disappearance is Homeric; cf. e.g. Od. 1.323, Od. 3.371–79.

[76] O. Jörgensen, "Das Auftreten der Götter in den Büchern ι-μ der Odyssee," *Hermes* 39 (1904), 357–82, Feeney (1991), 74–75, 84–86.

[77] Discussed by Jörgensen (1904), 363–64, 364–65, and 365–66 respectively.

[78] Cf. Feeney (1991), 74.

mentioned above). For example, Lycus believes that the defeat of Amycus was the will of the gods (2.797) but Apollonius never says that there is any divine interest in the incident, though Olympian imagery is applied to Zeus' son Polydeuces.[79] Further examples concerning the meeting with the sons of Phrixus will be discussed below. Such unconfirmed speculation about divine action can be found in Homer (it is frequent, for example, in Odysseus' account of his adventures in *Odyssey* 9–12), but when it is taken in conjunction with the general lack of human awareness of the gods in Apollonius it emphasises the gap between the worlds of gods and men. The contrast between full and partial knowledge is exemplified in Phineus, who knows the will of the gods but will now only prophesy in part (2.313–16).[80]

Even the two prophets among the Argonauts, Idmon and Mopsus, both die before the end of the voyage, breaking one possible line of communication with the gods. Idmon's prophecy of a successful return, combined with his knowledge of his own doom (1.440–47) is acknowledged at the time (1.448–49), but then quickly forgotten; this contrasts with prophecy of Calchas at Aulis, made at the equivalent point in the expedition against Troy, which is recalled in detail ten years later (Il. 2.322–32).

As in Homer, characters within the poem may refer to a *daimon* or several as influential on future events or dispensers of fate.[81] In some cases this may refer to one's own fate, conceived as a personal deity.[82] The word is not used of an unknown Olympian who has just intervened, though it is so used in Homer,[83] or of major Olympians as a substitute for θεός, unlike Homer (e.g. Il. 3.420); it refers to minor divinities[84] or abstractions.[85]

Shortly after the Phineus episode appears the most complex ex-

[79] Cf. Rose (1984), 123–26. For a Homeric precedent, cf. e.g. Od. 9.339.

[80] On Phineus as emblematic of the poet's approach to narrative, cf. Margolies (1981), 46–7, Feeney (1991), 94.

[81] 2.421, 4.64. etc.

[82] E.g. 1.443, 3.389. Cf. Erbse (1986), 259–68; on the development of the term, cf. G. François, *Le Polythéisme et l'emploi au singulier des mots θεός, δαίμων dans la littérature grecque d'Homère à Platon* (Paris: 1957). This sense occurs first at Pindar, P.5.123, though Homeric ὀλβιοδαίμων 'fortunate' suggests it (cf. *RE* IV.2, s.v. 'Daimon').

[83] Jörgensen's examples (Jörgensen (1904), 364) are all in speeches.

[84] Rhea 1.1119 and 1.1141, Hesperides 4.1411, Eros (who is a *daimon* at Plato, *Smp.* 202d), etc. These are not necessarily non-Olympian or weaker gods, since Eros and Rhea both live on Olympus and act within the poem.

[85] Homonoia 2.719.

ploration of different perceptions of divine action within the poem. Phineus predicts a piece of good fortune on the island of Ares (2.388–89), where the Argonauts meet the shipwrecked sons of Phrixus. There are three possible points at which the gods could intervene: by arranging the presence of the Argonauts on the island, by raising the storm and by ensuring the safe landing of the sons of Phrixus. The storm is sent by Zeus (2.1098, 2.1120); at 2.1120 Zeus' name is used in the weak, 'meteorological' sense. Jason believes that the meeting is due to the gods (2.1166–67); Argus suggests that it was Zeus or fate which kept the Argonauts back till the sons of Phrixus landed (3.327–28). Jason suggests that Zeus saved the sons of Phrixus (2.1179–84); at 2.1110 they get hold of the beam by the will of the gods, and Argus says that a god saved them (3.323). There is an indirect hint that Zeus is involved in the simile at 2.1083 when Zeus sends hail. Phineus refrains from telling all when he describes this part of the journey (2.390–91); at the beginning of his speech he said he must not reveal all of the 'mind of Zeus' (2.313) or the 'mind of the gods' (2.316). It is implied that the unexpected good fortune on the island of Ares is part of this divine will. The events preceding and including the meeting are a focus for the contrast of divine action and human speculation. Since such conjectures are rare, their frequency here is all the more striking.

Like the characters, the reader is also less informed of divine action. It is characteristic of Apollonius casually to mention a divine intervention after describing its effect (1.850–52, 3.250, 3.818, 4.1151–52, 4.1184–85, 4.1199–200); like Homeric characters (such as Nestor at Od. 3.372–79) the reader and the Argonauts often perceive an intervention after its occurrence. This implies that there could be other such interventions which the poet does not remark on, especially in situations where Homer routinely notes the occurrence of intervention, such as sacrifice[86] or a change in the weather.[87] In some cases it is not stated which god has intervened; this is not Homeric practice.[88] Three of the four examples concern omens and they are

---

[86] Sacrifice accepted: Il. 1.457. Rejected: Il. 2.419–20, Il. 6.311 (a prayer), Od. 9.553 (Odysseus speaks, cf. Jörgensen (1904), 367–68). On the absence of divine response in the sacrifice before the Argonauts set sail, cf. Feeney (1991), 69–70.

[87] Cf. Feeney (1991), 88–89.

[88] Cf. Jörgensen (1904), 363. 'a god' (1.1088), 'will of the gods' (2.1110), 'gods' (3.540), 'a goddess' (Hera? Hecate?) (4.294). Cf. Phinney (1963), 22, Feeney (1991), 88, Hunter (1993), 82.

described as if the narrator is a character in the poem, without full knowledge of events; we could compare the unidentified ἀνήρ who is killed at 2.102. As well as emphasising the confusion and partial knowledge of the characters by putting the reader in their place, this technique, like Apollonius' love of vivid description, is a form of 'focalisation', since both devices make the reader experience events as characters in the poem are imagined to experience them. The poet's refusal to be precise draws attention to his control over the narrative; the illusion that the reader has a complete apprehension of all the events in the epic is broken.

The distance set between gods and men makes the anthropomorphic 'Homeric' scenes on Olympus all the more striking. The details of everyday life and the comic touches, while appealing to Hellenistic taste, are not 'un-Homeric'; *Iliad* 1 contains a quarrel and a feast on Olympus, and the song of Demodocus (itself a model for the opening of Book 3) shows both the gods' human emotions and their carefree existence. Apollonius expands on one aspect of the treatment of the gods in Homer in these scenes, rather than taking them in a radically new direction.

The ignorance by the characters of the gods' activity resembles that of characters in tragedy. Apollonius appropriates a device which is characteristic of tragedy when Glaucus appears as *deus ex machina* (1.1310–26), coming to resolve tensions and announce the future. After his disappearance the Argonauts make peace and the book ends shortly afterwards. Apollonius reproduces the manner, purpose and structural position of this typically tragic device; however, Glaucus' intervention is not uncharacteristic of the way the gods behave in the *Argonautica*, since they often put off acting till the last possible moment. The reader is put in the position of a Homeric character with regard to knowledge of divine action, while the characters are in the position of those in tragedy.

The failure of the characters to be aware of the gods is part of a wider pattern of ignorance and misunderstanding in the *Argonautica*. At certain points (e.g. 2.65–66, 3.835–37) Apollonius draws attention to characters' unawareness of what is in store for them; Medea's knowledge of Greece is very limited and by comparison with Odysseus the Argonauts know little about the 'Odyssean' dangers which they face in Book 4. This emphasis on not knowing is closer to the world of the *Odyssey*, where the Suitors do not suspect their imminent doom and Odysseus is pessimistic about his chances of return (even

after prophecy to the contrary) than it is to the *Iliad*, where the fall of Troy is foreseen by both sides and Achilles knows that he will soon die.

All these features show how Apollonius draws on Homer while reducing contact between gods and men. The *Argonautica* cuts out some types of omen, major Olympians do not come to earth in human shape or speak to mortals, the acknowledgement of interventions is delayed, and there is a lack of opposition to the expedition. In the absence of more direct evidence of the gods' activity, the human characters can only speculate on divine interventions which may have happened in the past, invoke the aid of the gods in the present or future, and make timeless generalisations about the actions of the gods or of fate.

The gods can be mentioned casually in conversation; expressions such as 'if the gods will that this should happen' and 'may the gods do this' seem to mean little more than 'if this happens' and 'may this happen', phrased in a more pious way. However, these types of expression are carefully restricted in the *Argonautica*. There are three examples in the farewell scene between Jason and Hypsipyle. Two of them frame Hypsipyle's speech; at 1.888–89 she prays that the gods will bring the Argonauts safely back to Greece, and at 1.898 she asks what should happen if they allow her to bear a child. At 1.903 Jason's mind is already elsewhere; he hopes that the gods will spare him the trials which lie ahead. Two other examples of this kind of expression are given to Medea. She asks that the gods will not fulfil the dream she has just had (3.691–92) and prays that the gods will grant Arete prosperity (4.1026–28).[89] Both of these wishes are contained in speeches in which Medea is trying to win the sympathy of an older woman, and invokes the name of the gods in order to make them seem to support her cause.

The concentration of these expressions in the second scene between Jason and Hypsipyle is near enough to the beginning of the poem to suggest a world of shared Greek values and conventional piety which the Argonauts are soon to abandon. Even earlier comes the only lengthy exploration of attitudes towards the gods, Idas'

[89] The other occurrences are uttered by Telamon (1.1293), who, like Hypsipyle, hopes that the gods will allow the Argonauts to return; Phineus asks that he will be allowed to die (2.446).

misplaced confidence in his own prowess and the argument that ensues with Idmon (1.476–91). The resolution of this quarrel in the context of a sacrifice establishes the piety of the Argonauts at the outset, before they have even set sail from Thessaly.

The characters' awareness of the particular actions of the gods is complemented by their general attitude towards the gods and their own mortality, as well as an acknowledgement of a pre-ordained fate. In Homer the dreary life of shades in Hades is presented as the gloomy sequel to earthly life. This is most clearly expressed in *Odyssey* 11 and 24 and in the appearance of Patroclus at Il. 23.65–107, but the dread of Hades is present in the minds of warriors in the *Iliad*.[90] Even the gods, to whom it presents no real threat, hate Hades (Il. 20.65).

In Apollonius, the Argonauts' besetting fear is that of dying far from home and losing their *nostos*, rather than a fear of Hades. Hades is mentioned very rarely, not even in contexts where it might be expected such as the fate of Sthenelus (2.911–26) or the whereabouts of Theseus (1.101–4). The Argonauts are so disoriented after leaving Crete that they cannot tell whether they are in Hades or not (4.1699–701), and their response is to renounce control over their *nostos*. The only person who is said to fear Hades is Medea (3.809–10),[91] as at Hera's prompting (3.818) thoughts of it dissuade her from committing suicide. Medea has good reason to know about Hades, because of her devotion to the infernal goddess Hecate; but ironically she, almost alone of the characters in the poem, is assured of escaping Hades and living in the Elysian Fields after her death, though it is not clear whether she herself is aware of this (4.811–15). The Homeric attitude is transferred to a new situation,[92] but needs a god to inspire it. Other characters apparently ignore Hades; this is another example of the gap between the physical and the supernatural in the poem.

Both of the Homeric epics[93] and the *Argonautica*[94] contain reflections on fate. In Homer, these tend to be spoken by the characters, whereas in Apollonius they are generally in the mouth of the poet. For example, the sentiment 'no-one can escape fate' is expressed in

[90] E.g. Il. 12.322–25; cf. Griffin (1980), 93–94.
[91] The expression στυγερὸς Ἀΐδης 'hateful Hades' is Homeric (e.g. Il. 8.368).
[92] It is another instance of Medea's resembling a Homeric warrior.
[93] Il. 6.487–89, Il. 24.525–33 (the two jars), Od. 4.236–37, Od. 6.188–89, Od. 18.130–37.
[94] 1.82, 1.298–300, 1.1035–36, 4.1165–66, 4.1504.

the *Iliad* by Hector (Il. 6.487–89) and in the *Argonautica* by the narrator (*à propos* of the death of Cyzicus) (1.1035–36).[95] This tendency resembles that already discussed, in which the characters are less predisposed to look out for divine action. It also suggests the poet's greater prominence as narrator.[96]

Many of these statements closely resemble Homer. Jason tells his mother 'one must endure one's lot' (1.298–300) as Odysseus says to Amphinomus (Od. 18.135). The reflection that joy must always be mixed with pain (4.1165–66) matches the conclusion of the story of the two jars which is told by Achilles at Il. 24.525–33. Death is declared to be inevitable at 4.1504 as at Il. 21.106–10. These reflections usually speak of 'fate' in control (μοῖρα, 1.299, 1.1035), rather than of the gods dispensing it (e.g. Il. 24.525–33, Od. 16.207–8). They are confined to the beginning and end of the poem (unless 2.251–52 is included), ending at Cyzicus, and reappearing at the marriage of Jason and Medea (4.1165–66); they are thus absent from the central section where the Argonauts are removed from the Greek world, as if the Argonauts are removed even from the assurance of *gnomai* at this stage. While these generalisations are not a departure from Homer, they are thrown into greater prominence by the relative scarcity of direct contact between gods and human beings in the *Argonautica*.

Scenes of Divine Intervention

a) *Athena at the Symplegades*

This is discussed in the Introduction (pp. 41–48).

b) *The Opening of Book 3*

The opening of Book 3 is structurally important, since it begins the second half of the poem, and it can be seen as a 'fresh start' as it contains elements which are found at the beginning of the Homeric epics. An invocation of the Muse (3.1–5) resembles such invocations

[95] Cf. H. Wankel, "'Alle Menschen müssen sterben': Variationen eines Topos der griechischen Literatur," *Hermes* 111 (1983), 129–54.
[96] Cf. Fusillo (1985), 360–85, especially 380–83.

in Homer more than does the one at the beginning of the poem,[97] and is followed by a scene on Olympus in which the gods show their interest in events on earth. Olympian scenes of this kind open several books in Homer and appear in the first books of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and this encourages the reader to expect one early in Apollonius' epic. Its postponement until the poem is half over is an example of the way Apollonius varies the traditional structure of epic.

Lennox' study analyses thoroughly the major Homeric models for this famous scene, models which are recalled, as usual, by verbal similarities. Particularly important, because several allusions are made to a single scene, are Thetis' visit to Hephaestus (*Iliad* 18), Demodocus' song (*Odyssey* 8), the seduction of Zeus (*Iliad* 14), the breaking of the truce (*Iliad* 4), and events on Calypso's island (*Odyssey* 5).[98] Shumaker[99] also compares it to Odysseus' meeting with Athena in *Odyssey* 13. Campbell likens the opening of the scene to the one between Athena and Apollo in *Iliad* 7, a scene which Kullmann believes is the best example of the gods treating human life as an amusing spectacle.[100] The interaction of allusions to these Homeric predecessors, all involving gods, is an important reason why the scene seems so Homeric in tone. In addition, Lennox and the commentators have noted isolated references to other Homeric passages which add further nuances and touches of characterisation.[101]

Lennox' examination of the scene analyses the models thoroughly, but nevertheless undervalues or misses some parallels. At the opening of the scene, Hera's approach to Athena recalls their collaboration in *Iliad* 8. In both scenes Hera notices events on earth[102] and speaks to Athena, to find out Athena's views on what she thinks should be done to help the people whom she supports (3.11–16, Il. 8.352–56). Action is needed since the people whom the two goddesses favour are opposed by a man who is very hard to deal with (Aeetes 3.14–16, Hector Il. 8.354–56). The structure of Hera's speech is similar in both poems; three lines about this man are preceded by

---

[97] Cf. Eichgrün (1961), 104–6.
[98] Cf. Lennox (1980), (for *Iliad* 18) 49–50 and 52: (*Odyssey* 8) 49–50, 59 n. 31: (*Iliad* 14) 51, 57–59: (*Iliad* 4) 67–68, 70–71: (*Odyssey* 5) 50–51.
[99] Shumaker (1969), 84–87.
[100] Campbell, *Studies*, 9–10, Kullmann (1956), 86.
[101] E.g. on 3.81–82, Lennox (1980), 58.
[102] 3.7–8, Il. 8.350; in Apollonius both goddesses notice, though in a parallel passage introducing the other Olympian scene (4.753) only Hera does, as in *Iliad* 8.

two or three lines of questions finding out whether Athena is concerned about the situation, addressing her as daughter of Zeus (3.11, Il. 8.352). Athena's reply is introduced in similar words:

3.17 ὣς φάτο· τὴν δὲ παρᾶσσον Ἀθηναίη προσέειπε·
(So she spoke, and Athena answered her at once. . . .)
Il. 8.357 τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·
(Then the bright-eyed goddess Athena answered her. . . .)

She begins by affirming her concern for the matter about which Hera is asking (3.18–19, Il. 8.358–9); then she gives reasons why she has not acted. In Homer she has been held back by the anger of Zeus (Il. 8.360–73, demonstrated at Il. 8.397–437), in Apollonius (appropriately, given the prevalence of ἀμηχανίη 'helplessness' in the poem) by not knowing what to do (3.19–21).[103] Hera's motive in Homer is perhaps hinted at in the secrecy with which Hera approaches Athena (8–9) with Zeus' absence explicitly noted; although Apollonius' Zeus never takes offence at the help which his wife and daughter offer the Argonauts, his tendency to anger still affects the actions of the other Olympians.

In both conversations Hera may have formed her plan beforehand and be 'fishing' for Athena's agreement.[104] Afterwards the two goddesses move into action; in *Iliad* 8 Athena is in her element, helping on the battlefield and arms enthusiastically (Il. 8.384–91), whereas in Book 3 she admits that she is out of her depth (3.32–33) and says nothing in the conversation with Aphrodite. The contrast with the collaboration in *Iliad* 8 suggests that here Athena is in the wrong place, in a situation where her many skills are useless. The use of *Iliad* 8 in the scene helps to fill out the relationships among the Olympians. It suggests that the partnership of Hera and Athena is a natural one, though one which Zeus does not encourage, but it also shows that the two goddesses who could change the run of battle before Troy on their own now require the help of a third, Aphrodite, to persuade Medea to help Jason.

The divine action does not just consist of a conversation between the two goddesses, but also includes an embassy to plead for the help of another. In this respect it resembles the human activity in *Iliad* 9, with a party of people going to beg someone else for help.

---

[103] On the resourcelessness of Athena, cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 8–10.
[104] Cf. Campbell, *Studies*, 10.

Aphrodite, like Patroclus, greets her visitors with the observation that they must be in need of something (3.52–54, Il. 9.197–98: the forms ἱκάνετον 'you two come' and χρειώ 'need' occur in both speeches). The scene where Eros enters Aeetes' hall, which contains several *hapax legomena* from that book,[105] represents the outcome of this embassy.

More can be added to Lennox' discussion of the allusions to *Iliad* 14. In both books Hera asks Aphrodite to help in inspiring sexual love, saying that this request is on behalf of someone else.[106] The structures of the two conversations are similar; in both Aphrodite addresses three lines to Hera (3.52–54, Il. 14.194–96), Hera makes a longer reply (3.56–75, Il. 14.198–210) and Aphrodite agrees to help in a brief reply (3.79–82, Il. 14.212–13). Both scenes demonstrate how the gods ask other gods for help, a natural consequence of a system in which each has his or her own sphere of influence (a factor which is important in Apollonius' scene). In Homer Hera deceives Aphrodite (by pretending that the κεστός is for someone else), whereas in Apollonius she is more honest about why she wants help, though the resemblance to the *Iliad* hints that she is still using underhand methods.

The allusions to Demodocus' song in *Odyssey* 8 are discussed elsewhere (pp. 224–26). The relationship to this scene differs from that to the other Homeric scenes, in which consciousness of the Homeric model is important only to the reader; here the allusions suggest that the goddesses are all aware of the humiliation which was inflicted on Aphrodite in the events told of in the song, and this awareness becomes part of the power game which underlies the politeness of the conversation. This is particularly clear in Aphrodite's comment that the others rarely visit her (3.53–54), and in Hera's apparently gratuitous reference to Ixion (3.61–62). There is a structural significance in the references to the song; as well as being a prelude to the extensive use of *Odyssey* 6–8 throughout Book 3, it also indirectly continues the references to Ares at the end of Book 2, linking the two books together.

There are also other allusions or similarities to other well-known legends, several set around Troy before the Trojan War, independently

[105] δενδίλλω 'glance' (3.281/Il. 9.180), ὑπωρόφιος 'under the roof' (3.293/Il. 9.640), ἀμαθύνω 'destroy' (3.295/Il. 9.593); earlier the rare ἐπικέλομαι 'call on' (3.85/Il. 9.454).

[106] Il. 14.198–223. In Valerius Flaccus the parallel is even clearer since Hera borrows Aphrodite's girdle, as in the *Iliad*, to inspire love in Medea (Arg. 6.455–79).

of echoes of Homeric scenes already discussed. Firstly, there is the abduction of Ganymede (3.115–17). Ganymede is mentioned in the *Iliad*, though he does not appear in person, and Apollonius recalls one of the Homeric passages concerning him:[107]

3.115 . . . τόν ῥά ποτε Ζεὺς
οὐρανῷ ἐγκατένασσεν ἐφέστιον ἀθανάτοισι,
κάλλεος ἱμερθείς.
(. . . whom Zeus had established in heaven to dwell with the immortals because the boy's beauty filled him with desire.)
Il. 20.234 τὸν καὶ ἀνηρείψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνοχοεύειν
κάλλους εἵνεκα οἷο, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη.
(. . . and so the gods snatched him away to be Zeus' wine-pourer because of his beauty, so he should live among the immortals.)

ἱμερθείς 'filled with desire' suggests Zeus' sexual interest in Ganymede, which is absent from Homer,[108] appropriate for a scene in which a love affair is arranged.[109]

The three goddesses are those involved the judgement of Paris, and indeed Aphrodite is the winner in the sense that the others are dependent on her aid,[110] something which adds further undercurrents of suspicion and rivalry to their conversation. The ball offered as a bribe to Eros resembles the apple of discord, the prize which Paris had to award;[111] the offering of this apparently innocuous object eventually causes a woman to elope with a foreigner, as in the Judgement. Eros' threat to shoot at his mother which is recalled by Aphrodite (3.98–99) suggests Aphrodite's love affair with Anchises, which in mythological chronology would be roughly contemporary with these events.[112]

The hints at Trojan myths remind us that the Argonaut legend is

---

[107] The other is Il. 5.266.

[108] Cf. Dover (1978), 196–97, Feeney (1991), 66.

[109] Ganymede is also suggested indirectly; Eros' descent is based on Ibycus' poem on the rape of Ganymede (Σ ad 3.114–17b). Cf. Richardson on HHDem. 383, Lennox (1980), 64–66.

[110] Cf. Vian II, 10, Campbell, *Studies*, 12.

[111] The judgement of Paris is apparently mentioned at Il. 24.27–28 and in the *Cypria* (Procl. *Chr.*, p. 102 ll. 14–19 Allen). The Judgement is linked to the Apple of Discord at e.g. Apollod. *Epit.* 3.2, Hyg. *Fab.* 92; for further references, cf. A. R. Littlewood, "The symbolism of the apple in Greek and Roman literature," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72 (1967), 149–51. The use of a ball as a bribe has other connotations; in Glaucus' epigram (AP 12.44) a ῥαπτὴ σφαῖρα 'stitched ball' is (along with ἀστράγαλοι 'knucklebones') a gift by which a boy's sexual favours could once have been won. In Apollonius the context is erotic, though the favour required of Eros is not.

[112] Cf. Fränkel, *Noten*, 335.

linked to that of Troy,[113] and thus to the plots of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The gods, who transcend time, can link the different generations of myth. Similar connexions are made by the story of Peleus, Thetis and Achilles in the Olympian scene in Book 4. More generally, the behaviour and attitudes of the gods have Homeric precedent, and so what has often been seen as one of the most innovative parts of the poem is in fact thoroughly grounded in the world of the Homeric Olympians, as well as in particular scenes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Eros' shooting of Medea owes much to the shooting of Menelaus by Pandarus in *Iliad* 4, and there is nothing unusual in having gods use the bow; apart from the references to the arrows of Apollo and Artemis as the explanation for sudden death,[114] Apollo's arrows bring plague on the Greeks (Il. 1.44–49) and the gods elsewhere direct arrows in battle or are suspected of doing so (e.g. Il. 5.185–87, Il. 17.631–33). Hera's motives can be paralleled in Homer; she likes Jason because he helped her across a river (3.66–74) just as Zeus' affection for Hector is also based on services he has offered the god in the past, in this case sacrifices (Il. 22.170–72). Hera's desire for vengeance on Pelias (3.74–75) recalls her dislike of the Trojans. The attitudes of the goddesses to one another also resemble those displayed in Olympian scenes in the *Iliad*; Hera is the initiator, Athena backs her up, while Aphrodite is submissive.

The interest of Hera and Athena in the Argonauts has been prepared; Athena built the Argo[115] and helped it through the Symplegades (2.598–9). Hera's support has also been mentioned.[116] The rôle of Aphrodite was foretold by Phineus (2.423–24) and in retrospect it can be seen that it was suggested by the picture on Jason's cloak of her holding Ares' shield (1.742–76).[117] This picture shares with the Olympian scene references to her affair with Ares in Demodocus' song. The scene thus develops out of earlier passages in the poem.

In addition to directly causing the events which follow, the Olympian scene also foreshadows some of them by imitation; there are many similarities between events on Olympus and those soon to unfold

[113] Cf. Hdt. 1.2–4; two connected stages in the history of conflict between East and West.

[114] 3.773–74; Il. 19.59, Il. 24.758–59, Od. 3.279–80, Od. 5.123–24, Od. 11.172–73, Od. 15.410–11 etc.

[115] 1.19, 1.111–12, 1.526–27, 1.551, 1.722–24, 2.612–14, 2.1187–88.

[116] 2.216–17 (by Phineus), 2.865–66.

[117] Cf. Lawall (1966), 155. Aeetes has strong connexions with Ares (2.1268, 3.1225–27 etc.).

on earth. The house of Aphrodite and Hephaestus, like Aeetes', has an αἴθουσα 'portico' (3.39, 3.237), and a θάλαμος 'bedroom' (3.39, 3.236) where the husband and wife sleep (3.40, 3.240). The visitors to the house are well-known (in the case of the sons of Phrixus) but unexpected (3.52–54, 3.260–67, 3.306). There is a long speech in which a plea is made on Jason's behalf (by Hera 3.56–75, by Argus 3.320–66); each speaker recalls a favour which Jason did them when they were threatened by water (3.66–74, 3.329). Someone (Hera, Argus) suggests to another (Athena, Jason) that a third party (Aphrodite, Chalciope) should be approached to gain the help of a fourth (Eros, Medea). The two strands of narrative converge when Eros shoots Medea.

The relationship to Homer in general and the allusions to particular models are a powerful aid to interpreting the scene. This is the first time gods interact with one another in the *Argonautica*, and in the absence of previous scenes on Olympus, the Homeric background gives a context which sets the scene and characterises the participants. Apollonius can move straight from the assembled Argonauts to Hera and Athena without needing to introduce the goddesses or explain their partnership. The need to superimpose particular Homeric models to fill in the background to the scene prepares the reader for the importance of extended allusions to Homer throughout Book 3; indeed one of the models (*Odyssey* 8) is also used later in the book. In this respect, as in the similarities in narrative, the Olympian scene demonstrates in miniature what will later be repeated on a larger scale.

c) *Hera, Iris and Thetis: 4.753–865*

Both the *Argonautica* and the *Iliad* contain a scene involving Hera, Iris and Thetis (4.753–843, Il. 24.23–122). In both scenes Iris brings Thetis to Olympus, where Thetis is told to carry out the plan of another god by going to a certain mortal and talking to him, which she then does. This is Thetis' only appearance of any kind in the *Argonautica* (she could have been mentioned at 1.553–58 when Achilles appears, but is not) though Iris has already appeared at 2.286–300. Apollonius' scene, which draws on the *Iliad* not only in its choice of characters (Iris does not appear in the *Odyssey* at all and Thetis only appears in the second *nekuia*) but also in its structure and content,[118] is inserted

[118] Some allusions to particular scenes in the *Iliad* will be discussed below. For the scene's relationship to the deception of Zeus in *Iliad* 14, cf. Hunter (1993), 98–99.

into the 'Odyssean' section of the Argonauts' return voyage along the west coast of Italy. Ingeniously, most of the information about Scylla and Charybdis comes in Hera's speech in the middle of this episode rather than as the Argonauts pass these dangers (4.789–90, 4.825–31). The use of *Iliad* 24 as a model not only demonstrates Apollonius' flexibility in joining *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; there is also a structural similarity, since it too is near the end of the epic. The relationship of both Apollonius' scene and its model to the *Odyssey* is also appropriate, since the scene is annexed to Apollonius' Circe episode, whose Homeric equivalent also recalls *Iliad* 24.[119]

In Homer the gods sometimes send a god or goddess to a mortal in order to get them to do something, as for example in Thetis' visit to Achilles in *Iliad* 24 or Athena's to Achilles in *Iliad* 1; in Apollonius the gods generally make mortals do what they want by putting ideas into their heads, and the only other example of face-to-face persuasion is Hermes' visit to Aeetes, before the poem begins (3.587–88). This mode of action is a striking departure from Apollonius' normal practice and a more conservative use of the gods than many of the other interventions in the *Argonautica*.[120] However, one innovation is the use of Iris as a 'lookout' (4.753–56); in Homer gods do not delegate others to watch in this way.[121] The geographical disposition of the gods is the same in both poems with Thetis and her sisters in the depths of the sea, Hera on Olympus and Iris acting as go-between. Both poets describe how Iris goes down into the sea and where she descends, though Apollonius is vaguer, only mentioning the Aegean (4.771–72, Il. 24.78);[122] Thetis' sisters are mentioned briefly as she sets off for Olympus (4.780), as they are in Homer (Il. 24.83–84).

Hera plays the part which is taken by Zeus in *Iliad* 24, summoning Iris and despatching her to earth to fetch Thetis (4.757–82, Il. 24.74–87) (p. 304). The adaptation exemplifies the way Zeus is pushed into the background in the *Argonautica*, since in Homer Zeus wishes to speak to Thetis and overrides Hera's wishes in doing so, whereas

---

119 Cf. p. 195.

120 Klein (1930), 27–51, 215–25. Homer interrupts events on earth with an Olympian scene where the gods consider what to do; cf. Fenik (1974), 77–78, and 109.

121 Iris is at Hera's beck and call as in Callimachus (h. 4.228–39); in both poems she reports to Hera events on earth (4.753–56, Call. h. 4.218–27) and feels the effects of her journey (4.779, Call. h. 4.212).

122 This is also echoed in Thetis' return to the sea after her interview with Hera; cf. Hunter (1993), 100 n. 115.

in Apollonius Zeus plays no part and the plan is entirely Hera's. In Apollonius, Hera reminds Iris of her past obedience (4.757), as she later reminds Thetis of the past (4.790–809), but she is vaguer about why she wishes to see Thetis; in Homer, Zeus gives his reason, which he has also explained in a previous speech (Il. 24.65–76). As in Homer, Hera is more devious than her husband. Apollonius pays more attention to visual detail by mentioning Iris' wings[123] and Thetis' emergence from the sea (4.759). In the *Argonautica* Iris goes on to call on Aeolus and Hephaestus (4.775–78), whereas in the *Iliad* she also has more to do after seeing Thetis, but first returns to Olympus (Il. 24.143–59); at this stage her mission also draws on the one in Il. 23.198–213 (a visit which also resembles those in *Iliad* 24)[124] where she visits winds.

There are further echoes of the scene on Olympus in *Iliad* 24 as Hera addresses Thetis (4.790–809, Il. 24.59–63) (pp. 304–5). In both poems Hera mentions her bringing up of Thetis (4.791, Il. 24.60) using the verb τρέφω,[125] and speaks of Thetis' wedding, at which all the gods were present (4.807–8, Il. 24.62).[126] She singles out one guest in particular (herself in Apollonius, Apollo in Homer) and mentions something each held at the wedding (the marriage torch 4.808–9,[127] the lyre Il. 24.63) which in each case is appropriate to the divinity concerned. The phrase ἀντιάω γάμου is used by both poets but in different senses; in Homer (Il. 24.62) it means 'be present (as a guest) at a wedding', but in Apollonius (4.806) it is used of the bride entering marriage.[128] Peleus' special status is emphasised, but now he is not favoured by the gods (Il. 24.61) but simply 'the best of men' (4.805). The marriage of Peleus and Thetis, like that of Jason and Medea

---

[123] There is no mention of her wings in *Iliad* 24, though she is χρυσόπτερος 'golden-winged' elsewhere (Il. 8.398, Il. 11.185).

[124] Cf. L. J. Coventry, "Messenger Scenes in *Iliad* xxiii and xxiv," *JHS* 107 (1987), 178–80. Aeolus, however, is Odyssean.

[125] Only here; cf. B. K. Braswell, "Mythological Innovation in the *Iliad*," *CQ* n.s. 21 (1971), 23 n. 4.

[126] This combines different traditions, cf. H. Herter, "Hera spricht mit Thetis. Eine Szene des Apollonios von Rhodos," *Symbolae Osloenses* 35 (1959), 47–49, J. R. March, *The Creative Poet: Studies on the Treatment of Myths in Greek Poetry* (London: 1987) 16–23.

[127] Σ ad 4.808–9 says this was the duty of the bride's mother; Hera is promoting herself a 'substitute mother' to Thetis. Some verbal echoes also encourage the reader to compare Hera and Eurycleia; 4.770/Od. 23.32, 4.784/Od. 19.493, 4.790–91/Od. 19.482.

[128] Livrea on 4.806 notes the borrowing but not the change in its meaning. In Homer during the discussion among the gods before Thetis is summoned, in Apollonius in the conversation between Hera and Thetis.

(4.1199–200), has been arranged by Hera and she brings divine guests to both weddings (4.807–8, 4.1149–52); the disastrous consequences of the former union, which are later spelled out with Homeric precedent (4.867–79, Il. 18.432–35),[129] imply that the latter will be no happier. The poet fills in the latter part of the story which Hera carefully omits; her speech does not suggest that anything has gone wrong between Peleus and Thetis.[130]

The different audiences of the speech condition the different emphasis in the two poems; in Homer, Hera is speaking to Apollo in front of the other Olympians, and Thetis is not present, in Apollonius she addresses Thetis alone. In Homer Hera is trying to demonstrate that Achilles deserves greater honour than Hector, and so she emphasises Peleus' close relationship to the gods; in Apollonius she is drawing attention to the debt which Thetis owes her in return for the favours she has received, and stresses her own involvement in Thetis' life (αὐτή 'myself' 4.791, 4.808, ἐγώ 'I' 4.805).

Hera's speech forestalls any objections Thetis may make to helping her estranged husband. As Hera complains of Zeus' infidelities, Thetis also takes on the rôle of confidante which she often assumes in Homer, not only with her son, but also with other gods, such as Zeus (Il. 1.520–21) and the grateful Hephaestus (Il. 18.394–407). In both these cases the god who confides in Thetis is complaining about Hera; it is thus ironic that Hera too now feels the need to unburden herself to Thetis.

Hera makes explicit reference to the myth that Thetis was destined to bear a son greater than his father, and only this saved her from the amorous Zeus (4.790–804; cf. Pindar, I. 8.29–38). Hera goes into this story at some length, for various reasons. Seen within the context of the *Argonautica* itself, it illustrates the link between sexual

---

[129] 4.792 ἔξοχον <u>ἀλλάων</u> αἵ τ' εἰν <u>ἁλὶ</u> ναιετάουσιν,
οὕνεκεν οὐκ <u>ἔτλης</u>. . . .

('. . . beyond all other goddesses who dwell in the sea, because you were not wanton enough. . . .')

Il. 18.432 ἐκ μέν μ' <u>ἀλλάων</u> <u>ἁλιάων</u> ἀνδρὶ δάμασσεν,
Αἰακίδῃ Πηλῆϊ, καὶ <u>ἔτλην</u> ἀνέρος εὐνὴν
πολλὰ μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα.

('Out of all the sea-goddesses he made me subject to a man, Peleus, son of Aeacus, and I had to serve a mortal's bed, though much against my will.')

Thetis' endurance of a sexual relationship becomes a refusal to endure one.

[130] On Hera's choice of convincing arguments, cf. Herter (1959), 47–54; on her omission of the failure of Thetis' marriage, cf. Hunter (1993), 97–98.

relationships and power which runs through the poem. Hypsipyle and the other Lemnians offer themselves to the Argonauts precisely so that they will bear sons who can defend their island when they cannot, and Jason uses his attractiveness to Medea to succeed in Aeetes' tasks and obtain the Fleece. After the end of the poem, Medea's return to Greece as Jason's wife will cause disaster for Pelias and later for Jason himself. There is possibly a further relevance in the prominence of this myth. Slatkin has argued that it underpins the *Iliad* and would be in the mind of the original audience when Thetis appeared in that poem;[131] Apollonius, aware of these implications, may be emphasising the common background of the *Argonautica* and the *Iliad*. Be that as it may, Hera gives an appropriate angle to the myth by suggesting that Thetis herself rejected Zeus and by speaking of her own feelings in this matter.

Despite the important Iliadic model, there are also elements from the *Odyssey*. In both poems one couple escape Hades; like Menelaus (Od. 4.561–69), Achilles is promised life in the Elysian Fields after death (4.811–15) with a partner (4.814–15, Od. 4.569):

> 4.811 εὖτ' ἂν <u>ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον</u> τεὸς υἱὸς ἵκηται,
> ('When your son goes to the Elysian plain. . . .')
> Od. 4.563 ἀλλά σ' <u>ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον</u> καὶ πείρατα γαίης
> ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν. . . .
> ('The Deathless Ones will waft you instead to the world's end, the Elysian fields . . .')

This tradition was older than Apollonius[132] but does not fit the situation in Homer where Achilles appears among the shades in Hades (Od. 11.467–540, Od. 24.15–97); indeed the knowledge that he will go to Hades soon after Hector gives him much of his heroic dignity.[133] The version of Achilles' life presented by Hera (4.811–15) contains nothing between his infancy and his life after death, leaving out and even contradicting the Homeric account of it. Apollonius avoids direct reference to the events of the *Iliad*, but the integration of his epic with Homer's is represented in mythological terms by Achilles' union with Medea, a union which is only possible because of her estrangement from Jason.

---

[131] Cf. Slatkin (1991), 69–77; on the anger of Thetis as a subtext to the voyage to Lemnos, cf. Clauss (1993), 104–5. On the variant versions which are combined in Hera's speech, cf. Vian N.C. on 4.809.

[132] Ibycus fr. 10P, Simonides fr. 53P, both cited by Σ ad 4.814–15a.

[133] Cf. Griffin (1980), 191.

A pun made as Thetis replies to Hera's speech also exploits the Odyssean frame to the scene:

4.833 ὣς φάτο· τὴν δὲ Θέτις τοίῳ προσελέξατο μύθῳ. . . .
(So she spoke, and Thetis answered her as follows. . . .)
Od. 12.34 εἷσέ τε καὶ προσέλεκτο καὶ ἐξερέεινεν ἕκαστα·
('[Circe] made me sit down. . . . she lay down near me and questioned me about everything.')

Thetis agrees to cooperate and replies before departing; she will shortly visit Aeaea and tell Peleus that the Argonauts will be protected by Nereids when they pass between the Wandering Rocks (4.856–64). This is the closest equivalent in this part of the *Argonautica* to Circe's speech at Od. 12.37–141, which is introduced by the line quoted above; Apollonius' Circe, unlike Homer's, does not tell her visitors about the dangers ahead.

προσελέξατο here means 'spoke to' as at 3.426, from προσλέγομαι, but is identical in form to the aorist of προσλέχομαι, which is attested only at Od. 12.34 in the form προσέλεκτο, used of Circe lying beside Odysseus before she explains the route to him. In giving information, Thetis will do for Peleus what Circe did for Odysseus, but despite the similarity of the verb, she is not sleeping with him but only speaking to him, even though they are married! There is thus considerable irony in the use of this particular verb. Apollonius plays on the similarity of the aorists of -λέγω and -λέχομαι earlier in the conversation; at 4.794 λέξασθαι (from λέχομαι) is used of Thetis rejecting Zeus' advances, and six lines later κατέλεξεν (from καταλέγω) is used of Themis telling Zeus that Thetis' son would exceed his father.[134] There is also a joke here, since by changing one letter, Θέτις κατέλεξεν would imply that Thetis did yield to Zeus' advances!

Thetis' descent to earth visit recalls two of her Iliadic appearances, firstly her visit to the Greek camp to give Achilles his armour:

4.854 οὐδέ τις εἰσιδέειν δύνατ' ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἄρα τῷ γε
οἴῳ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐείσατο. . . .
(. . . . and to no one else was she manifest and visible, but his eyes alone beheld her.)

[134] Livrea's suggestion (on 4.833) that Apollonius understood προσέλεκτο in the *Odyssey* as being from προσλέγομαι (cf. Σ^{BQ} ad Od. 10.34) is rendered less credible by Apollonius' awareness of the coincidence of aorist forms of -λέγομαι and -λέχομαι shown here. H. Reinsch-Werner, *Callimachus Hesiodicus: Die Rezeption der hesiodischen Dichtung durch Kallimachos von Kyrene* (Berlin: 1976) 204–6, misses the pun.

Il. 19.14 Μυρμιδόνας δ' ἄρα πάντας ἕλε τρόμος, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
ἄντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ' ἔτρεσαν.

(Fear took hold of all the Myrmidons, and none dared to look full at [the armour], but they all shrank back.)

In both scenes, the companions of the person Thetis is visiting do not look at her, but in Homer it is because they are afraid to look at the arms, whereas in Apollonius Thetis makes herself invisible, because she does not wish even to be seen helping her estranged husband (cf. her words at 4.862–64). The appearance of a god to one person alone is frequent in Homer.[135]

Another model is Thetis' visit to tell her son Achilles to release the body of Hector in *Iliad* 24; this scene is the outcome of the meeting between Thetis and Hera discussed above. Both poets say what the companions of the person Thetis is visiting are doing (4.851–52, Il. 24.123–24); the choice of games in the *Argonautica* recalls the games which have just taken place in *Iliad* 23.[136] Thetis does not caress Peleus as she does Achilles (Il. 24.127), but only touches his hand (4.852). In both poems Thetis' speech mentions anger (her own at 4.863–64, that of the gods at Il. 24.134–35). She asks that something be released (using the verb λύω), the body of Hector (Il. 24.137), or the Argo (4.857). Unlike Achilles (Il. 24.138–42), Peleus has no chance to reply, and his usual naive optimism deserts him (4.866, 4.880, contrast 2.869–84, 2.1219–25). The reminiscence of the Homeric scene heightens the pathos by emphasising the coldness and lack of communication between Thetis and her estranged husband.[137]

The intervention of Thetis is an interlude among the 'Odyssean' scenes of Book 4, not just because it includes a scene on Olympus, but because it derives mainly from the *Iliad*. Hera and Iris, who have already appeared in the *Argonautica*, introduce Thetis, who has not, and we glimpse in passing Hephaestus behaving as in the *Iliad* and Aeolus as in the *Odyssey*. As in the *Iliad*, Thetis is portrayed as a goddess whose membership of a mortal family has brought her only sorrow. Her visit to Peleus is a pendant to Medea's meeting with her aunt Circe which immediately precedes; the source of grief for the Argonauts is not the deadly threats posed by the Odyssean dangers which they are passing through, but ruptures within the family.

---

[135] E.g. Il. 1.197–98 (Athena is visible only to Achilles). Achilles' reaction is immediate (Il. 1.199–200); we learn of Peleus' grief only at 4.866, after Thetis has gone.

[136] The rare σόλος 'discus' occurs in Homer only in *Iliad* 23.

[137] On this aspect of the scene, cf. Hunter (1993), 100.

4.758 (Hera) εἰ δ' ἄγε λαιψηρῇσι μετοιχομένη πτερύγεσσι
δεῦρο Θέτιν μοι ἄνωχθι μολεῖν ἁλὸς ἐξανιοῦσαν·
('Be off please on your swift wings and bid Thetis come up out of the sea to visit me here.')
4.781 ἐξ ἁλὸς Οὔλυμπον δὲ θεὰν μετεκίαθεν Ἥρην.
ἡ δέ μιν ἆσσον ἑοῖο παρεῖσέ τε φαῖνέ τε μῦθον·
([Thetis] left Nereus and her sisters behind and rose from the sea to visit the goddess Hera on Olympus. Hera made her sit beside her and revealed her purpose. . . .)
Il. 24.74 (Zeus) ἀλλ' εἴ τις καλέσειε θεῶν Θέτιν ἆσσον ἐμεῖο. . . .
('But would one of the gods call Thetis to come here before me . . .')
Il. 24.104 (Zeus) ἤλυθες Οὔλυμπόνδε, θεὰ Θέτι, κηδομένη περ. . . .
('You have come to Olympus, divine Thetis, for all your grief. . . .')

4.770 ὣς ἔφατ'· αὐτίκα δ' Ἶρις ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο θοροῦσα
τέμνε, τανυσσαμένη κοῦφα πτερά. δῦ δ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ
Αἰγαίῳ, τόθι πέρ τε δόμοι Νηρῆος ἔασι·
πρώτην δ' εἰσαφίκανε Θέτιν καὶ ἐπέφραδε μῦθον
Ἥρης ἐννεσίῃς ὦρσέν τέ μιν εἰς ἓ νέεσθαι.
(So she spoke, and without delay Iris leapt down from Olympus and, stretching wide her light wings, cut through the air to dive into the Aegean sea at the spot where Nereus' house is situated. First she went to Thetis, reported to her as Hera had planned, and bade her travel to see the goddess.)
Il. 24.77 ὣς ἔφατ', ὦρτο δὲ Ἶρις ἀελλόπος ἀγγελέουσα,
μεσσηγὺς δὲ Σάμου τε καὶ Ἴμβρου παιπαλοέσσης
ἔνθορε μείλανι πόντῳ· ἐπεστονάχησε δὲ λίμνη.
(So he spoke, and storm-swift Iris sped to give his message. She leapt down into the dark sea between Samos and rocky Imbros, and the water crashed echoing round her.)
83 εὗρε δ' ἐνὶ σπῆϊ γλαφυρῷ Θέτιν. . . .
(She found Thetis in a hollow cave. . . .)
87 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱσταμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις·
'Ὄρσο, Θέτι· καλέει Ζεύς. . . .
(Swift-footed Iris came close and spoke to her: 'Up now, Thetis! Zeus . . . calls you.')

4.790 (Hera to Thetis) . . . ἀλλά—σὲ γὰρ δὴ
ἐξέτι νηπυτίης αὐτὴ τρέφον ἠδ' ἀγάπησα . . .
797 . . . ὁ δ' ἔπειτα πελώριον ὅρκον ὄμοσσε,
μή ποτέ σ' ἀθανάτοιο θεοῦ καλέεσθαι ἄκοιτιν. . . .
805 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄριστον ἐπιχθονίων πόσιν εἶναι
δῶκά τοι, ὄφρα γάμου θυμηδέος ἀντιάσειας
τέκνα τε φιτύσαιο· θεοὺς δ' εἰς δαῖτα κάλεσσα
πάντας ὁμῶς· αὐτὴ δὲ σέλας χείρεσσιν ἀνέσχον
νυμφίδιον. . . .

('Come—ever since you were a baby I have brought you up and cherished you. . . . [Zeus] then swore a mighty oath that no immortal god would ever call you his wife. . . . I gave you the best of all mortal men to be your husband, so that your marriage might please your heart and you might bear children; I called all the gods together for the marriage-feast, and I myself raised the marriage-torch aloft in my hands. . . .')

Il. 24.59 (Hera)

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐστι θεᾶς γόνος, ὃν ἐγὼ αὐτὴ
θρέψα τε καὶ ἀτίτηλα καὶ ἀνδρὶ πόρον παράκοιτιν,
Πηλέϊ, ὃς περὶ κῆρι φίλος γένετ' ἀθανάτοισι.
πάντες δ' ἀντιάασθε, θεοί, γάμου· ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσι
δαίνυ' ἔχων φόρμιγγα, κακῶν ἕταρ', αἰὲν ἄπιστε.

('But Achilles is child of a goddess, whom I myself brought up and reared and gave as wife to a man, Peleus, who of all men was dearest to the hearts of the immortals. All of you gods were there at the wedding: and you were among them too with your lyre at the feast—you coward-lover, you were always a traitor!')

The three main scenes of divine intervention, though different in mood, construction and narrative detail, all draw copiously on Homeric motifs, characterisation and phraseology, as well as alluding to specific scenes from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Athena's action at the Symplegades in Book 2 is very 'Odyssean', the opening of Book 3 is an intricate reworking of various scenes in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but the intervention at the Wandering Rocks in Book 4, which *is* mentioned in the Odyssey, becomes 'Iliadic', both in the prominence of Thetis and in its choice of models. The three scenes thus differ in their relationship to each of the two Homeric epics. Moreover, the first two are each a complex mingling of allusions to several different models, whereas the third, set in the most Homeric part of the *Argonautica*, looks to a very different part of Homer from the sources of its immediate surroundings. These scenes are exceptional in the *Argonautica* because they introduce Olympians into the action, but for this same reason they are strongly indebted to Homer, without becoming straightforward copies of scenes involving the gods in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

AJP = *American Journal of Philology*
Campbell, *Echoes* = M. Campbell, *Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius* (Leiden: 1981)
Campbell, *Studies* = M. Campbell, *Studies in the Third book of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica* (Hildesheim: 1983)
CQ = *Classical Quarterly*
Delage, *Géographie* = E. Delage, *La Géographie dans les Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes*, (Diss. Paris: 1930)
D-K = H. Diels and W. Kranz, eds., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (6th ed., Berlin: 1952)
Fränkel, *Noten* = H. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios* (Munich: 1968)
Hes. WD—Hesiod, Works and Days
HHDem, HHAph—the Homeric Hymns to Demeter and Aphrodite. Callimachus' hymns are numbered.
Hunter on 3 = R. L. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica Book 3* (Cambridge: 1989)
JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
LSJ = H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, R. Mackenzie, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed., Oxford: 1968)
MH = *Museum Helveticum*
RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart: 1893–)
TrGF = B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt, eds., *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen: 1971–)
Vian, I, II, III = F. Vian, ed., *Apollonios de Rhodes: Argonautiques* vols. 1–3 (Paris: 1974–81)
TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*

TEXTS, COMMENTARIES, ETC.

R. Merkel, ed., *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (Leipzig: 1854)
G. W. Mooney, ed., *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Dublin: 1912)
R. C. Seaton, ed., *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (Oxford: 1929)
H. Fränkel, ed., *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (Oxford: 1961)
F. Vian, ed., *Apollonios de Rhodes: Argonautiques* vols. 1–3 (Paris: 1974–81)
G. Paduano and M. Fusillo, *Apollonio Rodio: Le Argonautiche* (Milan: 1986)
A. Ardizzoni, ed., *Le Argonautiche libro 1* (Bari: 1967)
A. Ardizzoni, ed., *Le Argonautiche libro 3* (Bari: 1958)
M. M. Gillies, ed., *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius Book III* (Cambridge: 1928)
F. Vian, ed., *Apollonius Rhodius: Argonautiques chant 3* (Paris: 1961)
R. L. Hunter, ed., *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica Book 3* (Cambridge: 1989)
E. Livrea, ed., *Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon liber quartus* (Florence: 1973)
C. Wendel, ed., *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera* (Berlin: 1935)
M. Campbell, *Index verborum in Apollonium Rhodium* (Hildesheim: 1983)

EDITIONS OF OTHER AUTHORS

R. Pfeiffer, ed., *Callimachus* vols. 1–2 (Oxford: 1949)
F. Williams, ed., *Callimachus' Hymn to Apollo: a Commentary* (Oxford: 1978)

A. W. Bulloch, ed., *Callimachus: the Fifth Hymn* (Cambridge: 1985)
N. Hopkinson, ed., *Callimachus: Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge: 1984)
A. S. Hollis, ed., *Callimachus: Hecale* (Oxford: 1990)
J. Diggle, ed., *Euripides: Phaethon* (Cambridge: 1970)
R. Seaford, ed., *Euripides: Cyclops* (Oxford: 1984)
M. L. West, ed., *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford: 1966)
C. W. Macleod, ed., *Homer: Iliad Book XXIV* (Cambridge: 1982)
G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: a Commentary, volume II: Books 5–8* (Cambridge: 1990)
N. J. Richardson, *The Iliad: a Commentary, volume VI: Books 21–24* (Cambridge: 1993)
W. B. Stanford, ed., *Homer: Odyssey* vols. 1–2 (London: 1947–48)
A. Heubeck, S. West, J. B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, vol. 1 (Oxford: 1988)
A. Heubeck, A. Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, vol. 2 (Oxford: 1989)
N. J. Richardson, ed., *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: 1974)
F. Bömer, ed., *Ovid: Metamorphoses* (Heidelberg: 1969–86)
R. C. Jebb, ed., *Sophocles: Oedipus Coloneus* (1st ed., Cambridge: 1885)
A. C. Pearson, ed., *The Fragments of Sophocles* vols. 1–3 (Cambridge: 1911–17)
A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, eds., *Theocritus* vols. 1–2 (Cambridge: 1950)
D. L. Page, ed., *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford: 1962)
A. Nauck, ed., *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (2nd. ed., Leipzig: 1889)
A. S. F. Gow, ed., *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge: 1965)
J. U. Powell, ed., *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford: 1925)
N. Hopkinson, ed., *A Hellenistic Anthology* (Cambridge: 1988)
F. Jacoby, ed., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin: 1923–)
R. A. Pack, ed., *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (2nd. ed., Ann Arbor: 1965)
H. Erbse, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* vols. 1–7 (Berlin: 1969–83)
G. Dindorf, ed., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam ex codicibus aucta et emendata* vols. 1–2 (Oxford: 1855)

SECONDARY LITERATURE

A. Ardizzoni, "Note critiche ed esegetiche sul testo di Apollonio Rodio," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* n.s. 34 (1956), 364–88
A. Ardizzoni, "Cleite, ovvero la fonte delle lacrime" in *Mythos: Scripta in Honorem Marii Untersteiner* (Genoa: 1970) 37–42
W. Arend, *Die Typischen Szenen bei Homer* (Berlin: 1933)
J. I. Armstrong, "The Arming Motif in the Iliad," *AJP* 79 (1958), 337–54
N. Austin, *Archery at the Dark of the Moon: Poetic Problems in Homer's Odyssey* (Berkeley: 1975)
J. R. Bacon, *The Voyage of the Argonauts* (London: 1925)
H. Bannert, *Formen des Wiederholens bei Homer: Beispiele für eine Poetik des Epos* (Vienna: 1988)
A. Barchiesi, *La traccia del modello: effetti omerici nella narrazione virgiliana* (Pisa: 1984)
G. Beck, "Beobachtungen zur Kirke-Episode in der Odyssee," *Philologus* 109 (1965), 1–29
P. J. B. Beckmann, *Das Gebet bei Homer* (Diss. Würzburg: 1932)
L. Belloni, "Medea Πολυφάρμακος," *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 2 (1981), 117–33
S. Besslich, *Schweigen—Verschweigen—Übergehen: die Darstellung des Unausgesprochenen in der Odyssee* (Heidelberg: 1966)
C. R. Beye, *Epic and Romance in the Argonautica of Apollonius* (Carbondale: 1982)
L. Bieler, *Θεῖος ἀνήρ—Das Bild des 'Göttlichen Menschen' in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (Vienna: 1935, repr. 1967)
P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets* (Göttingen: 1988)
G. Boesch, *De Apollonii Rhodii elocutione* (Diss. Berlin: 1908)

J. Bollack, "Ulysse chez les philologues," *Actes de la recherche des sciences sociales* 1 (1975), 9–35

J. Bollack, "Note sur l'épisode des Planctes," *Actes de la recherche des sciences sociales* 3 (1976), 173–76

G. Bonelli, *Decadentismo antico e moderno: un confronto fra l'estetismo alessandrino e l'esperienza poetica contemporanea* (Turin: 1979)

V. Bongi, "Apollonio Rodio, Virgilio ed Ennio," *Athenaeum* 24 (1946), 68–74

C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford: 1930)

B. K. Braswell, "Mythological Innovation in the *Iliad*," *CQ* n.s. 21 (1971), 16–26

J. M. Bremer, I. de Jong, J. Kalff, eds., *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry* (Amsterdam: 1987)

C. O. Brink, "Ennius and the Hellenistic Worship of Homer," *AJP* 93 (1972), 547–67

T. S. Brown, *Timaeus of Tauromenium* (Berkeley: 1958)

M. S. E. Brunius-Nilsson, *Δαιμόνιε: an Enquiry into a Mode of Apostrophe in Old Greek Literature* (Diss. Uppsala: 1955)

F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris: 1956)

A. W. Bulloch, "Callimachus' Erysichthon, Homer, and Apollonius Rhodius," *AJP* 98 (1977), 97–123

A. W. Bulloch, "The Future of a Hellenistic Illusion: Some Observations on Callimachus and Religion," MH 41 (1984), 209–30

A. W. Bulloch, E. S. Gruen, A. A. Long and A. Stewart, eds., *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley: 1993)

E. Burck, "Jasons Kämpfe in Kolchis bei Apollonios Rhodios und C. Valerius Flaccus" in *Δώρημα H Diller zum 70 Geburtstag: Dauer und Überleben des antiken Geistes* (Athens: 1975) 11–43

W. Burkert, trans. J. Raffan, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Oxford: 1985)

S. Busch, "Orpheus bei Apollonios Rhodios," *Hermes* 121 (1993), 301–24

C. S. Byre, "The Narrator's Addresses to the Narratee in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*," *TAPA* 121 (1991), 215–227

E. Cahen, *Callimaque et son œuvre poétique* (Paris: 1929)

F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge: 1989)

M. Campbell, "Critical Notes on Apollonius Rhodius," *CQ* n.s. 19 (1969), 269–84

M. Campbell, "Further Notes on Apollonius Rhodius," CQ n.s. 21 (1971), 402–23

M. Campbell, "Three Notes on Alexandrine Poetry," *Hermes* 102 (1974), 38–46

M. Campbell, "Apollonian and Homeric Book Division," *Mnemosyne* 4 ser. 36 (1983), 154–56

W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford: 1969)

J. F. Carspecken, "Apollonius Rhodius and the Homeric Epic," *Yale Classical Studies* 13 (1952), 33–143

P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* vols. 1–2 (Paris: 1948–53)

M. G. Ciani, "Poesia come enigma (Considerazioni sulla poesia di Apollonio Rodio)" in *Scritti in onore di Carlo Diano* (Bologna: 1975) 77–111

M. G. Ciani, "Ripetizione 'Formulare' in Apollonio Rodio," *Bolletino dell'Istituto di Filologia Greca* 2 (1975), 191–208

J. Clack, "The Medea Similes of Apollonius Rhodius," *Classical Journal* 68 (1972–73), 310–15

R. J. Clare, *Aspects of Space and Movement in the Odyssey of Homer and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Cambridge: 1993)

R. J. Clark, "A Note on Medea's Plant and the Mandrake," *Folklore* 79 (1968), 227–31

W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (Berkeley: 1987)

A. Clausing, *Kritik und Exegese der homerischen Gleichnisse in Altertum* (Diss. Freiburg: 1913)

J. J. Clauss, *Allusion and the Narrative Style of Apollonius Rhodius: a Detailed Study of Book 1 of the Argonautica* (Diss. Berkeley: 1983)
J. J. Clauss, *The Best of the Argonauts* (Berkeley: 1993)
J. S. Clay, *The Wrath of Athena* (Princeton: 1983)
M. Coffey, "The Function of the Homeric Simile," *AJP* 78 (1957), 113–132
J. F. Collins, *Studies in Book One of the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Columbia: 1967)
G. B. Conte, trans. C. Segal, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca: 1986)
A. Couat, trans. J. Loeb, *Alexandrian Poetry under the First 3 Ptolemies (324–222 B.C.)* (London: 1931)
L. J. Coventry, "Messenger Scenes in *Iliad* xxiii and xxiv," *JHS* 107 (1987), 178–80
G. Crane, *Calypso: Backgrounds and Conventions of the Odyssey* (Frankfurt: 1988)
H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile: la mythologie et les dieux dans les Argonautiques et dans l'Enéide* (Paris: 1894)
H. de la Ville de Mirmont, "Le navire Argo et la science nautique d'Apollonios de Rhodes," *Revue internationale de l'enseignement* 30 (1895), 230–85
V. de Marco, "Osservazioni su Apollonio Rodio 1.1–22," *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin: 1963) 350–55
F. De Martino, "Note apolloniane," *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia di Bari* 27–28 (1984–85), 101–117
L. Deubner, "Ololyge und Verwandtes," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft* (1941), 1–28
L. E. Dickson, *History of the Theory of Numbers* vols. 1–3 (Washington: 1919–23)
E. J. Dijksterhuis, trans. C. Dikshoorn, *Archimedes* (Princeton: 1987)
R. Dion, "Où situer la demeure de Circé?" *Bull. de l'assoc. G. Budé* 4 ser. no. 1 (1971), 479–533
K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London: 1978)
H. P. Drögemüller, *Die Gleichnisse im hellenistischen Epos* (Diss. Hamburg: 1956)
G. E. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius and Vergil* (Princeton: 1933)
C. M. Dufner, *The Odyssey in the Argonautica: Reminiscence, Revision, Reconstruction* (Diss. Princeton: 1988)
H. Dunbar, *A Complete Concordance to the Odyssey of Homer* (Oxford: 1880, repr. Hildesheim: 1962)
H. Düntzer, *Homerische Abhandlungen* (Leipzig: 1872)
A. R. Dyck, "On the Way from Colchis to Corinth: Medea in Book 4 of the *Argonautica*," *Hermes* 117 (1989), 455–70
P. E. Easterling, "Literary Tradition and the Transformations of Cupid," *Didaskalos* 5 (1977), 318–37
P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox, eds., *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* v. 1: *Greek Literature* (Cambridge: 1985)
H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* vv. 1–2 (Leipzig: 1880–85)
M. W. Edwards, *Homer: Poet of the Iliad* (Baltimore: 1987)
R. B. Egan, "λειριόεις κτλ. in Homer and Elsewhere," *Glotta* 63 (1985), 14–24
E. Ehnmark, *The Idea of God in Homer* (Uppsala: 1935)
E. Eichgrün, *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios* (Berlin: 1961)
H. Eisenberger, *Studien zur Odyssee* (Wiesbaden: 1973)
S. Eitrem, "La Magie comme motif littéraire chez les grecs et les romains," *Symbolae Osloenses* 21 (1941), 39–83
G. W. Elderkin, "Repetition in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius," *AJP* 34 (1913), 198–201
H. Erbse, "Homerscholien und Hellenistische Glossare bei Apollonios Rhodios," *Hermes* 81 (1953), 163–96
H. Erbse, "Zeus und Here auf dem Idagebirge," *Antike und Abendland* 16 (1970), 93–112

H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Götter im homerischen Epos* (Berlin: 1986)
H. Färber, *Zu dichterischen Kunst in Apollonios Rhodios' Argonautica (Die Gleichnisse)* (Diss. Berlin: 1932)
M. Fantuzzi, *Ricerche su Apollonio Rodio: diacronie della dizione epica* (Rome: 1988)
J. Farrell, *Vergil's Georgics and the Traditions of Ancient Epic* (New York: 1991)
D. Feeney, "Following after Hercules in Virgil and Apollonius," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 18 (1986), 47–85
D. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* (Oxford: 1991)
B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad: Studies in the Narrative Techniques of Homeric Battle Description* (Wiesbaden: 1968)
B. Fenik, *Studies in the Odyssey* (Wiesbaden: 1974)
R. Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge: 1977)
E. Fitch, "Apollonius Rhodius and Cyzicus," *AJP* 33 (1912), 43–56
F. Focke, *Die Odyssee* (Stuttgart: 1943)
H. P. Foley, "'Reverse Similes' and Sex Rôles in the *Odyssey*," *Arethusa* 11 (1978), 7–26
R. L. Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric: Three Preliminary Studies* (Toronto: 1987)
G. François, *Le Polythéisme et l'emploi au singulier des mots θεός, δαίμων dans la littérature grecque d'Homère à Platon* (Paris: 1957)
H. Fränkel, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse* (Göttingen: 1921, reprinted 1977)
P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* vols. 1–3 (Oxford: 1972)
P. Friedländer, "Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Heldensage," *Rheinisches Museum* 69 (1914), 299–341
W.-H. Friedrich, "Ennius-Erklärungen," *Philologus* 97 (1948), 277–301
W.-H. Friedrich, *Verwundung und Tod in der Ilias: homerische Darstellungsweisen* (Göttingen: 1956)
M. Fusillo, *Il tempo delle Argonautiche* (Rome: 1985)
R. Garner, *From Homer to Tragedy: the Art of Allusion in Greek Poetry* (London: 1990)
R. W. Garson, "Homeric Echoes in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*," *Classical Philology* 67 (1972), 1–9
J. Geffcken, *Timaios' Geographie des Westens* (Berlin: 1892)
G. Genette, *Palimpsestes: Le Littérature au second degré* (Paris: 1982)
E. V. George, "Poet and Characters in Apollonius Rhodius' Lemnian Episode," *Hermes* 100 (1972), 47–63
E. V. George, "Apollonius' *Argonautica* 4.984–5: Apology for a Shameful Tale," *Rivista di Studi Classici* 25 (1977), 360–64
E. Gerhard, *Lectiones Apollonianae* (Leipzig: 1816)
G. Germain, *Genèse de l'Odyssée* (Paris: 1954)
G. Giangrande, "'Arte allusiva' and Alexandrian Epic Poetry," *CQ* n.s. 17 (1967), 85–97
G. Giangrande, "Zu Sprachgebrauch, Technik und Text des Apollonios Rhodios," *Classical and Byzantine Monographs* 1 (Amsterdam: 1973)
G. Giangrande, "Aspects of Apollonius Rhodius' Language," *Arca* 2 (1976), 271–91
L. Gil Fernández, "La epica helenística" in *Estudios sobre el mundo helenístico* (Seville: 1971), 89–120
R. Ginouvès, *Βαλανευτική: recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris: 1962)
S. Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge: 1986)
S. Goldhill, "Framing and Polyphony: Readings in Hellenistic Poetry," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 32 (1986), 25–52
S. Goldhill, *The Poet's Voice: Essays on Poetics and Greek Literature* (Cambridge: 1991)
C. J. Goodwin, *Apollonius Rhodius, his Figures, Syntax and Vocabulary* (Diss. Baltimore: 1891)
G. K. Gresseth, "The Homeric Sirens," *TAPA* 101 (1970), 203–18
J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer," *JHS* 97 (1977), 39–53

J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford: 1980)
J. Griffin, "The Creation of Characters in the Aeneid" in *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome* ed. B. K. Gold (Austin: 1982) 118–34
A. Grillo, *Tra Filologia e Narratologia: di poemi omerici ad Apollonio Rodio, Ilias Latina, Ditti-Settimio, Darete Frigio, Draconzio* (Rome: 1988)
P. H. Gummert, *Die Erzählstruktur in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (Frankfurt: 1992)
P. Händel, *Beobachtungen zur epischen Technik des Apollonios Rhodios* (Munich: 1954)
P. Händel, "Die Götter des Apollonios als Personen," in *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin: 1963) 363–81
D. Hagopian, *Pollux' Faustkampf mit Amykos: Theokrits Darstellung von demselben verglichen mit derjenigen des Apollonius Rhodius* (Vienna: 1955)
W. F. Hansen, *The Conference Sequence: Patterned Narration and Narrative Inconsistency in the Odyssey* (Berkeley: 1972)
A. Harder, "Aspects of the Structure of Callimachus' *Aetia*," in *Callimachus*, eds. M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit and G. C. Wakker (Groningen: 1993) 99–110
P. R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: 1986)
A. E. Harvey, "Homeric Epithets and Greek Lyric Poetry," *CQ* n.s. 27 (1957), 206–23
F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus: being some Account of the History and Antiquities of That City and of the District Adjacent to it, with the Towns of Apollonia ad Rhyndaum, Miletupolis, Hadrianutherae, Priapus, Zeleia etc.* (Cambridge: 1910)
E. Hatzantonis, "I geniali rimaneggiamenti dell' episodio omerico di Circe in Apollonio Rodio e Plutarco," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 54 (1976), 5–24
A. Heiserman, *The Novel before the Novel: Essays and Discussions about the Beginnings of Prose Fiction in the West* (Chicago: 1977)
R. Hennig, *Die Geographie des Homerischen Epos* (Leipzig: 1934)
L. Hensel, *Weissagungen in der alexandrinischen Poesie* (Diss. Giessen: 1908)
H. Herter, "Kallimachos und Homer: Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation des Hymnos auf Artemis," in *Xenia Bonnensia* (Bonn: 1929) 50–105 (= *Kleine Schriften*, ed. E. Vogt (Munich: 1975) 371–416)
H. Herter, "Bericht über die Literatur zur Hellenistischen Dichtung seit dem Jahre 1921 II: Apollonios von Rhodos," *Bursians Jahresbericht* 285 (1944/55), 213–410
H. Herter, "Hera spricht mit Thetis. Eine Szene des Apollonios von Rhodos," *Symbolae Osloenses* 35 (1959), 40–54 (= *Kleine Schriften* 433–44)
B. Herzhoff, "Lotos—Botanische Beobachtungen zu einem homerischen Pflanzennamen," *Hermes* 112 (1984), 257–271
C. Higbie, *Measure and Music: Enjambement and Sentence Structure in the Iliad* (Oxford: 1990)
J. P. Holoka, "Homer, Oral Poetry Theory, and Comparative Literature: Major Trends and Controversies in Twentieth-century Criticism," in *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung: Rückblick und Ausblick*, ed. J. Latacz (Stuttgart: 1991) 456–81
U. Hölscher, *Die Odyssee: Epos zwischen Märchen und Roman* (2nd. ed., Munich: 1989)
T. K. Hubbard, "Antithetical Simile Pairs in Homer," *Grazer Beiträge* 10 (1981), 59–67
G. Huber, *Lebensschilderung und Kleinmalerei im hellenistischen Epos: Darstellung des menschlichen Lebens und der Affekten* (Solothurn: 1926)
R. L. Hunter, "Apollo and the Argonauts; Two Notes on Ap. Rhod. 2,669–719," *MH* 43 (1986), 50–60
R. L. Hunter, "Medea's Flight: the Fourth Book of the *Argonautica*," *CQ* 37 (1987), 129–39
R. L. Hunter, "'Short on Heroics': Jason in the *Argonautica*," *CQ* 38 (1988), 436–53
R. L. Hunter, "Bulls and Boxers in Apollonius and Vergil," *CQ* 39 (1989), 557–61
R. L. Hunter, "Greek and Non-Greek in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius," in *Ἑλληνισμός: quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque*, ed. S. Said (Leiden: 1991) 81–99

R. L. Hunter, *The Argonautica of Apollonius: Literary Studies* (Cambridge: 1993)
A. Hurst, "Le retour nocturne des Argonautes," *MH* 21 (1964), 232–37
A. Hurst, "Sur deux passages d'Apollonios de Rhodes," *MH* 23 (1966), 107–13
A. Hurst, *Apollonios de Rhodes, manière et cohérence: contribution à l'étude de l'esthétique alexandrine* (Rome: 1967)
G. O. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford: 1988)
G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (London: 1969)
R. Ibscher, *Gestalt der Szene und Form der Rede in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss. Berlin: 1939)
E. Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto: 1974)
S. Jackson, "Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Euphemus, a Clod and a Tripod," *Illinois Classical Studies* 12 (1987), 23–30
S. Jackson, "Apollonius of Rhodes and the Corn Goddess: a Note on Arg. 4.869–76," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 13 (1990), 53–56
S. Jackson, *Creative Selectivity in Apollonius' Argonautica* (Amsterdam: 1993)
A. W. James, "Apollonius Rhodius and his Sources: Interpretative Notes on the *Argonautica*," *Corolla Londiniensis* 8 (Amsterdam: 1981), 59–86
R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge: 1982)
I. J. F. de Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers: the Presentation of the Story in the Iliad* (Amsterdam: 1987)
I. J. F. de Jong, "Studies in Homeric Denomination," *Mnemosyne* 4 ser. 46 (1993), 289–306
O. Jörgensen, "Das Auftreten der Götter in den Büchern ι-μ der Odyssee," *Hermes* 39 (1904), 357–82
A. Kahane, *The Interpretation of Order: a Study in the Poetics of Homeric Repetition* (Oxford: 1994)
E. Kaiser, "Odyssee-Szenen als Topoi," *MH* 21 (1964), 109–36, 197–224
A. H. M. Kessels, "Dreams in Apollonius' *Argonautica*," in *Actus: Studies in Honour of H. L. W. Nelson* (Utrecht: 1982) 155–73
G. S. Kirk, "Some Methodological Pitfalls in the Study of Ancient Greek Sacrifice (in Particular)," in *Fondation Hardt Entretiens 27: Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité* (Geneva 1981) 41–90
A. Kirchhoff, *Die Homerische Odyssee* (Berlin: 1879)
L. Klein, "Die Göttertechnik in den *Argonautika* des Apollonios Rhodios," *Philologus* 86 (1930), 18–51, 215–57
T. M. Klein, "Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius and the Concept of the 'Big Book'," *Eranos* 73 (1975), 16–25
A. Klotz, "Die Irrfahrten des Odysseus und ihre Deutung im Altertum," *Gymnasium* 59 (1982), 289–302
G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen: 1964)
V. H. Knight, *Πρόσθεν ἔτι κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί: Responses to Homer in the Argonautica of Apollonius* (Diss. Cambridge: 1990)
V. H. Knight, "Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4.167–70 and Euripides' *Medea*," *CQ* (1991), 248–50
B. M. W. Knox, "The *Ajax* of Sophocles," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 65 (1961), 1–37
A. Köhnken, *Apollonios Rhodios und Theokrit* (Göttingen: 1965)
A. Körte, trans. J. Hammer and M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Poetry* (New York: 1929)
D. A. van Krevelen, "Der Kybelekult in den *Argonautika* des Apollonios von Rhodos," *Rheinisches Museum* n.s. 97 (1954), 75–82
T. Krischer, *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik* (Munich: 1971)
T. Krischer, "Phäaken und Odyssee," *Hermes* 113 (1985), 9–21
B. Krumbiegel, "Das problema bovinum des Archimedes," *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik (Hist.-lit. Abt.)* 25 (1880), 121–36

K. Kuiper, *Studia Callimachea* vols. 1–2 (Leiden: 1896–98)
W. Kullman, *Das Wirken der Götter in der Ilias* (Berlin: 1956)
W. Kullman, "Oral Poetry Theory and Neoanalysis in Homeric Research," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 25 (1984), 307–323
M. M. Kumpf, *The Homeric Hapax Legomena and Their Literary Use by Later Authors, Especially Euripides and Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Ohio: 1974)
A. Kurz, *Le Corpus Theocriteum et Homère: un problème d'authenticité (Idylle 25)* (Berne: 1982)
S. P. Kyriakides, "Παρατηρήσεις εἰς τὴν 'Ομηρικὴν Νέκυιαν," 'Αριστοτ. Πανεπ. Θεσσαλ. 'Επιστ. 'Επετ. 11 (1957), 281–321
P. Kyriakou, "Empedoclean Echos in Apollonius Rhodius' 'Argonautica'," *Hermes* 122 (1994), 309–19
C. Lacombrade, "Une reviviscence hellénistique du mythe de Prométhée," *Pallas* 10 (1961), 19–30
R. Lamberton and J. J. Keaney, *Homer's Ancient Readers* (Princeton: 1992)
M. L. Lang, "Homer and Oral Techniques," *Hesperia* 38 (1969), 159–68
M. L. Lang, *Herodotean Narrative and Discourse* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1984)
F. Lasserre, *La figure d'Eros dans la poésie grecque* (Lausanne: 1946)
G. Lawall, "Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Jason as Anti-Hero," *Yale Classical Studies* 19 (1966), 119–69
G. Lawall, review of Hurst (1967), *AJP* 91 (1970), 114–17
G. Lawall and M. DeForest, review of Hunter (1989), *Classical Philology* 86 (1991), 340–46
D. J. N. Lee, *The Similes of the Iliad and the Odyssey Compared* (Sydney: 1964)
M. R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London: 1981)
P. G. Lennox, "Apollonius, *Argonautica* 31ff. and Homer," *Hermes* 108 (1980), 45–73
A. Lesky, *Thalatta: der Weg der Griechen zum Meer* (Vienna: 1947)
A. Lesky, "Aia," *Wiener Studien* 63 (1948), 22–68 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. W. Kraus (Bern: 1966) 26–62)
D. N. Levin, "Δίπλαξ πορφυρέη," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 98 (1970), 17–36
D. N. Levin, *Apollonius' Argonautica Re-Examined 1: the Neglected First and Second Books* (Leiden: 1971)
E. Lévy, "Le rêve homérique," *Ktèma* 7 (1982), 23–41
J. Lindsay, *The Clashing Rocks* (London: 1965)
A. R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72 (1967), 147–81
E. Livrea, "L'épos philologique: Apollonios de Rhodes et quelques homérismes méconnus," *L' Antiquité Classique* 49 (1980), 146–60
E. Livrea, "L'episodio libyco nel quarto libro delle 'Argonautiche' di Apollonio Rodio," *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 19 (1987), 175–90
H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley: 1971)
H. Lloyd-Jones, "A Hellenistic Miscellany," *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 3 ser. 2 (1984), 52–72
S. H. Lonsdale, *Creatures of Speech: Lion Herding and Hunting Similes in the Iliad* (Stuttgart: 1990)
N. Loraux, trans. A. Forster, *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman* (Cambridge, Mass: 1987)
B. Louden, "An Extended Narrative Pattern in the *Odyssey*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 34 (1993), 5–33
R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford: 1987)
R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Words and the Poet: Characteristic Techniques of Style in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford: 1989)
J. W. Mackail, "Apollonius of Rhodes and the Romantic Epic" in *Lectures in Greek Poetry* (London: 1910) 239–72

T. J. MacNiven, "Odysseus on the Niobid Krater," JHS 109 (1989), 191–98
J. R. March, *The Creative Poet: Studies on the Treatment of Myths in Greek Poetry* (London: 1987)
M. J. M. Margolies, *Apollonius' Argonautica: a Callimachean Epic* (Diss. Colorado: 1981)
H. I. Marrou, trans. G. Lamb, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London: 1956)
L. H. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions* (New York: 1987)
G. Marxer, *Die Sprache des Apollonius Rhodius in ihren Beziehungen zu Homer* (Diss. Zürich: 1935)
T. Means, "Incidental Observations on the *Argonautica* and *Post Homerica*," *Classical Journal* 46 (1950–51), 335–40
R. Merkelbach, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee* (2nd. ed. Munich: 1969)
H. J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin: 1963)
K. Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautika* (Berlin: 1921, reprinted Utrecht: 1974)
A. M. Miller, *Studies in the Argonautica of Apollonius* (Diss. Ohio: 1974)
J. L. Moles, "Truth and Untruth in Herodotus and Thucydides," in *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, eds. C. Gill and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter: 1993) 88–121
M. P. O. Morford, *The Poet Lucan* (Oxford: 1967)
I. Morris, "The Use and Abuse of Homer," *Classical Antiquity* 5 (1986), 81–138
J. V. Morrison, "The Function and Context of Homeric Prayers: a Narrative Perspective," *Hermes* 119 (1991), 145–57
J. V. Morrison, *Homeric Misdirection: False Predictions in the Iliad* (Michigan: 1992)
L. Moulinier, *Quelques hypothèses relatives à la géographie d'Homère dans l'Odyssée* (Aix-en-Provence: 1958)
C. Moulton, *Similes in the Homeric Poems* (Göttingen: 1977)
G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer: the Lyric Possession of an Epic Past* (Baltimore: 1990)
S. A. Natzel, *Κλέα γυναικῶν: Frauen in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (Trier: 1992)
D. P. Nelis, *The Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Belfast: 1988)
D. P. Nelis, "Demodocus and the Song of Orpheus: Ap. Rhod. Arg. 1,496–511," *MH* 49 (1992), 153–70
J. K. Newman, "Callimachus and the Epic," in *Serta Turyniana* (Urbana: 1974) 342–360
J. K. Newman, *The Classical Epic Tradition* (Madison: 1986)
S. A. Nimis, *Narrative Semiotics in the Epic Tradition: the Simile* (Bloomington: 1987)
L. Nyberg, *Unity and Coherence: Studies in Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica and the Alexandrian Epic Tradition* (Lund: 1992)
G. Paduano, *Studi su Apollonio Rodio* (Rome: 1972)
D. L. Page, *Folktales in Homer's Odyssey* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1973)
E. M. Papamichael, "Οἱ 'Ολύμπιοι θεοὶ καὶ οἱ σχέσεις τους μὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους," *Dodone* 11 (1982), 29–44
R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford: 1983)
M. Parry, "The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse," *TAPA* 60 (1929), 200–20 (= *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Oxford: 1971) 251–65)
T. M. Paskiewicz, *A Commentary on the Second Book of the Argonautica by Apollonius of Rhodes* (Diss. Oxford: 1981)
G. Pasquali, "Arte allusiva," in *Pagine stravaganti* v. 2 (Florence: 1968) 275–82 (= *L'Italia che scrive* 25 (1942) 185–87)
H. Patzer, "Dichterische Kunst und poetisches Handwerk im homerischen Epos," *Sitzungsber. der Wiss. Ges. an der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe Univ.* 10 (1971), 1–50
B. Pavlock, *Eros, Imitation and the Epic Tradition* (Ithaca: 1990)
L. Pearson, "Apollonius of Rhodes and the Old Geographers," *AJP* 59 (1938), 443–59
L. Pearson, *The Greek Historians of the West: Timaeus and His Predecessors* (Atlanta: 1987)
J. Pépin, *Mythe et Allégorie* (Aubier: 1958)

R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: 1968)
E. D. Phillips, "Odysseus in Italy," *JHS* 73 (1953), 53–67
E. Phinney, *Apollonius Rhodius* (Diss. Berkeley: 1963)
E. Phinney, "Hellenistic Painting and the Poetic Style of Apollonius," *Classical Journal* 62 (1967), 145–49
E. Phinney, "Narrative Unity in the *Argonautica*, the Medea-Jason Romance," *TAPA* 98 (1967), 327–41
A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford: 1962)
A. Platt, "On Apollonius Rhodius," *Journal of Philology* 33 (1913), 1–53
A. J. Podlecki, "Some Odyssean Similes," *Greece and Rome* n.s. 18 (1971), 81–90
J. R. Porter, "Tiptoeing through the Corpses: Euripides' *Electra*, Apollonius and the *Bouphonia*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 31 (1990), 255–80
G. L. Prendergast, *A Complete Concordance to the Iliad of Homer* (London: 1875, repr. Hildesheim: 1962)
P. Pucci, *Odysseus Polutropos: Intertextual Readings in the Odyssey and the Iliad* (Ithaca: 1987)
I. M. le M. du Quesnay, "From Polyphemus to Corydon: Virgil *Eclogue* 2 and the *Idylls* of Theocritus," in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, eds. D. West and T. Woodman (Cambridge: 1979) 35–69
P. Rau, *Paratragodia: Untersuchungen einer komischen Form des Aristophanes* (Munich: 1967)
J. M. Redfield, *Nature and Culture in the Iliad: the Tragedy of Hector* (Chicago: 1975)
H. Reinsch-Werner, *Callimachus Hesiodicus: Die Rezeption der hesiodischen Dichtung durch Kallimachos von Kyrene* (Berlin: 1976)
E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford: 1983)
L. Rissman, *Love as War: Homeric Allusion in the Poetry of Sappho* (Hain: 1983)
C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* (Berlin: 1920–21, repr. 1966–67)
C. H. Roberts, "Literature and Society in the Papyri," *MH* 10 (1953), 264–79
D. Roessel, "The Stag on Circe's Island; an Exegesis of a Homeric Digression," *TAPA* 119 (1989), 31–36
E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (2nd. ed., Leipzig: 1914)
J. S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton: 1992)
A. R. Rose, "Three Narrative Themes in Apollonios' Bebrykian Episode (*Argonautika* 2, 1–163)," *Wiener Studien* n.f. 18 (1984), 115–35
G. P. Rose, "The Unfriendly Phaeacians," *TAPA* 100 (1969), 387–406
L. E. Rossi, "La fine alessandrina dell'*Odissea* e lo ζῆλος Ὁμηρικός di Apollonio Rodio," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 96 (1968), 151–63
J. Rostropowicz, *Odbicie Rzeczywistości Politycznej społecznej i gospodarczej w poezji aleksandryjskiej* (Warsaw: 1983)
P. Rousseau, "Fragments d'un commentaire antique du récit de la course des chars," *Philologus* 136 (1992), 158–80
G. Roux, "Commentaire sur Théocrite, Apollonios, et quelques épigrammes de l'*Anthologie*," *Revue de Philologie* 36 (1963), 76–92
R. Roux, *Le Problème des Argonautes: recherches sur les aspects religieux de la légende* (Paris: 1949)
D. A. Russell, "De imitatione," in *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, eds. D. West & T. Woodman (Cambridge 1979) 1–16
K. Rüter, *Odysseeinterpretationen: Untersuchungen zum ersten Buch und zur Phaiakis* (Göttingen: 1969)
R. B. Rutherford, "At Home and Abroad: Aspects of the Structure of the *Odyssey*," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 31 (1985), 133–50
R. B. Rutherford, "The Philosophy of the *Odyssey*," *JHS* 106 (1986), 145–62
C. A. Ste-Beuve, "De la Médée d'Apollonius," in *Portraits contemporains* v. 5 (Paris: 1889) 359–406 (= *Revue des deux mondes* n.s. 11 (1845), 873–99)

W. M. Sale, "Homeric Olympus and its Formulae," *AJP* 105 (1984), 1–28

M. B. Sánchez, "Tradición e innovación en la literatura helenística," in *Unidad y pluralidad en el mundo antiguo: Actas del VI congreso español de estudios clásicos 1* (Madrid: 1983) 127–46

M. V. Sánchez, *El aition en las Argonáuticas de Apolonio de Rodas: estudio literario* (Murcia: 1989)

R. R. Schlunk, *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid: a Study of the Influence of Ancient Homeric Literary Criticism on Vergil* (Ann Arbor: 1974)

W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* (Munich: 1920)

E. Schwartz, *Die Odyssee* (Munich: 1924)

E.-R. Schwinge, *Künstlichkeit von Kunst: zur Geschichtlichkeit der alexandrinischen Poesie* (Munich: 1986)

R. S. Scodel and R. F. Thomas, "Virgil and the Euphrates," *AJP* 105 (1984), 339

W. C. Scott, *The Oral Nature of the Homeric simile* (Leiden: 1974)

R. C. Seaton, "The Symplegades and the Planctae," *AJP* 8 (1887), 433–40

R. C. Seaton, "On the Imitation of Homer by Apollonius Rhodius," *Journal of Philology* 19 (1891), 1–13

C. Segal, "The Phaeacians and the Symbolism of Odysseus' Return," *Arion* 1 (1962), 17–64

C. Segal, "Transition and Ritual in Odysseus' Return," *La Parola del Passato* 22 (1967), 321–42

C. Segal, "Circaean Temptations: Homer, Virgil, Ovid," *TAPA* 99 (1968), 419–42

C. Segal, *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* (Leiden: 1971)

A. Severyns, *Le cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque* (Liège: 1928)

H. A. Shapiro, "Jason's Cloak," *TAPA* 110 (1980), 263–86

D. Shive, *Naming Achilles* (New York: 1987)

J. W. Shumaker, *Homeric Transformations in the Argonautica of Apollonius of Rhodes* (Diss. Pennsylvania: 1969)

E. E. Sikes, *The Greek View of Poetry* (London: 1931)

M. S. Silk, "LSJ and the Problem of Poetic Archaism: from Meanings to Iconyms," *CQ* n.s. 33 (1983), 303–31

L. M. Slatkin, *The Power of Thetis: Allusion and Interpretation in the Iliad* (Berkeley: 1991)

B. Snell, ed., *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (Göttingen: 1979–)

J. S. Stallings, *Scenes of Eaten Sacrifice in the Iliad* (Diss. Ann Arbor: 1985)

K. Stanley, *The Shield of Homer: Narrative Structure in the Iliad* (Princeton: 1993)

E. Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig: 1912)

V. G. Stephens, "Like a Wolf on the Fold: Animal Imagery in Vergil," *Illinois Classical Studies* 15 (1990), 107–30

F. Stössl, *Apollonios Rhodios*, (Bern: 1941)

G. Strasburger, *Die kleinen Kämpfer der Ilias* (Diss. Frankfurt: 1954)

D. F. Sutton, *The Lost Sophocles* (Lanham: 1984)

L. K. Taaffe, "There's No Place like Home: ἀσπάσιος and Related Words in the *Odyssey*," *Classical Journal* 86 (1990), 131–38

O. Taplin, *Homeric Soundings* (Oxford: 1992)

W. G. Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic* (Baltimore: 1984)

K. Thiel, *Erzählung und Beschreibung in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios* (Stuttgart: 1993)

E. M. W. Tillyard, *The English Epic and its Background* (London: 1968)

O. Tsagarakis, *Form and Content in Homer* (Wiesbaden: 1982)

K. Usener, *Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis der Odyssee zur Ilias* (Tübingen: 1990)

G. Vagnone, "Omerismi e non in Apollonio Rodio (Argon. 3.701 sgg.): il desiderio di morte," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 46 (1994), 75–78

T. Van Nortwick, "Penelope and Nausicaa," *TAPA* 109 (1979), 269–76

H. Venzke, *Die Orphischen Argonautika in ihren Verhältnis zu Apollonios Rhodios* (Diss. Berlin: 1941)

E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley: 1979)
F. Vian, "Les Γηγενεῖς de Cyzique et la grande mère des dieux," *Revue Archéologique* 6e série 37 (1951), 14–25
F. Vian, "Notes critiques au chant II des Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 75 (1973), 82–102
F. Vian, "L'isthme de Cyzique d'après Apollonios de Rhodes (1.936–41)," *Revue des Études Grecques* 91 (1978), 96–106
P. Vidal-Naquet, "Land and Sacrifice in the Odyssey: A Study of Religious and Mythical Meanings," in *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World* (Baltimore: 1986) 15–38
M. Vílchez, "La estructura formal de la comparación en las *Argonáuticas* de Apolonio de Rodas," *Emerita* 57 (1989), 5–35
P. Vivante, *The Epithets in Homer* (New Haven: 1982)
G. J. De Vries, "Phaeacian Manners," *Mnemosyne* 4 ser. 30 (1977), 113–21
H. Wankel, "'Alle Menschen müssen sterben': Variationen eines Topos der griechischen Literatur," *Hermes* 111 (1983), 129–54
A. Webber, "The Hero Tells His Name: Formula and Variation in the Phaeacian Episode of the *Odyssey*," *TAPA* 119 (1989), 1–13
T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (London: 1964)
J. Werner, "Κολχίδα γῆρυν ἱεῖσα—Ein Beitrag zum Thema: nichtgriechische Sprachen im Bewusstsein der antiken Griechen," in *Kavkaz i Sredizemnomor'ye*, eds. R. Gordesiani and A. Uruschadse (Tbilisi: 1980) 215–22
D. West, "Multiple-Correspondence Similes in the *Aeneid*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969), 40–49
M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford: 1983)
S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (Köln: 1967)
C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1958)
U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* vols. 1–2 (Berlin: 1924)
U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "*Die griechische Heldensage* I," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaft* (Berlin: 1925), 41–62 (=*Kleine Schriften* V.2 (Amsterdam: 1937) 54–84)
E. G. Wilkins, "A Classification of the Similes in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius," *Classical Weekly* 14 (1921), 162–66
M. M. Willcock, "Battle scenes in the *Aeneid*," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 29 (1983), 87–99
M. M. Willcock, "The Search for the Poet Homer," *Greece and Rome* n.s. 37 (1990), 1–13
M. F. Williams, *Landscape in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Frankfurt: 1991)
R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Sophocles: an Interpretation* (Cambridge: 1980)
H.-H. and A. Wolf, *Der Weg des Odysseus: Tunis-Malta-Italien in den Augen Homers* (Tübingen: 1968)
J. C. Wordsworth, "The *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius" in *Adventures in Literature* (London: 1929), 153–213
G. Zanker, "The Love Theme in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*," *Wiener Studien* n.f. 13 (1979), 52–75
G. Zanker, *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry* (London: 1987)
K. Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos* (Leipzig: 1966)

GLOSSARY OF GREEK WORDS USED IN TRANSLITERATION IN THE TEXT

aition, *aitia*	an explanation for a present day monument or custom
aristeia	an extended success by a hero in warfare
demos	the populace
gnomai	generalised, proverbial observations
ichor	a substance believed to flow in the veins of the gods
katabasis	a descent to Hades
nekuia	a scene among the dead in Hades
nostos	return home, the aim of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*
Planctae	the 'Wandering' Rocks
proecdosis	the 'first edition' of the *Argonautica*, now lost apart from a few variant passages preserved in the scholia
Symplegades, *Plegades*	the 'Clashing' Rocks

GENERAL INDEX

Achilles: and Aeetes, 102–3, 108; and Jason, 26–27, 88, 101, 108–110, 241–42; own appearance in *Argonautica*, 27; organises boxing in *Iliad*, 63; his wrath, 164 n. 108; destined for Elysian fields, 277, 301; and Thetis, 277, 303
Aea, 154, 185–87; *see also* Colchis
Aeaea, 154, 185–87
Aeetes: arming of in Book 3, 102–3, 115–17; arming in Book 4, 115–17; and Achilles, 102–3; and Homer's Cyclops, 135–37; and Circe, 176–80; and Alcinous, 224, 228–32, 243; Hermes and, 232, 281, 298
Aeolus, 33; and Cyzicus episode, 85, 144–45; in *Argonautica*, 145–46, 271, 299
Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 191
Aethalides, 34, 164–65
Agamemnon, and Jason, 27; and Heracles, 55; his prayer in *Iliad* 2, 57–58; in *Iliad* 19, 255–56
Aigle, 277, 281–82; *see also* Hesperides
aitia: use of in Cyzicus episode, 92; absent in 'Odyssean' part of Book 4, 154, 157; reappear at Drepane, 248
Alcinous: and Aeetes, 224, 228–32, 243; own appearance in *Argonautica*, 246–48, 250–56
Alexandria, 5–8
allusion, generally, 8–41
Amazons, 115
ambiguity: of movement of Wandering Rocks, 212–14; of mist in Colchis, 226 n. 316
ambrosia, 277
Amphion, 165–66
Amycus, 62–73, 286; and Homer's Cyclops, 131–33
Ancaeus: at sacrifice, 52; in battle in Book 2, 95–96
Anchises, 295
Andromache, 231 n. 329
anger of gods, 144–45, 282–83
animals: mastery over, 59; involved in affliction, 171; magical ones 179–80, 181–82, 188–90, 195–96; recalled at Scylla and Charybdis, 208
anonymous people: at the sacrifice, 51–52; one of Bebryces, 94; Argonaut, 98; gods, 287–88
Anthemoessa, 201
Antiope, 165
Aphrodite, 273; in opening of Book 3, 224–26, 293–97; thought to help Jason, 238; not worshipped, 269; makes nymph desire Hylas, 283
Apollo, 273, 282, 292; sacrificed to, 49–62; appears on cloak, 166; worshipped, 269
Apsyrtus, 114, 116–17
Archimedes, 217–18
Ares, 101, 274, 296; island of, 174, 219 n. 300, 286–87, 294; *see also* Phrixus, birds, shipwreck
Arete, 229; like Medea, 226; own appearance in *Argonautica*, 246–51, 254–56
Aretus, 64, 95
Argo: indestructible, 73; damaged, 77; built by Argus and Athena, 281
Argonauts: as a community, 11–12, as individuals, 27, 29; assist at sacrifice, 50–54, 59; threaten combat, 115–117; duplicate names, 131 n. 20; lack of reaction to Wandering Rocks, 158 n. 94, 213; and Odysseus' companions, 29, 167–68, 208, 219, 243; and Myrmidons, 303; *see also* names of individual Argonauts
Argus (son of Phrixus): describes shipwreck, 75–76, 287; appeals to Jason, 133–34; speaks to Aeetes, 229–30, 297
Argus (Argonaut), 281
arming: of Lemnian women, 85; of Jason and Aeetes in Book 3, 102–3; arming without battle, 115–17
arrows, 296
Artaces, 89–90, 148
Artacie, 33, 148, 151
arte allusiva, 10
Artemis, 274; Medea and Nausicaa like, 236–37; worshipped, 269
assembly: in *Iliad* 2, 115–16; at

Lemnos, 116–117; and frustrated battles, 117; in Colchis compared to *Odyssey* 8, 231–32; on Drepane, 254; not held by gods, 280
Athena, 101, 234, 270–72, 281; at Symplegades, 44–46, 278–79, 285; in opening of Book 3, 224–25, 291–97; active in *Odyssey*'s Phaeacian episode, 234, 237–38, 242, 254, 280; worshipped, 269; travels on cloud, 277
Ausonia, 155 n. 85, 157

background information, 158, 267–68, 275; about Sirens 200–2; about Scylla 207–8; about Cattle of Sun 216–17; in Colchis, 228; on Drepane, 245–46; about Zeus and Thetis, 300
ball, offered to Eros, 295
Basileus, 89–90
baths: Circe's, 187; Jason's and Odysseus', 240
battle, 24, 31–32, ch. 3 *passim*; juxtaposed with boxing match, 69–70; battle against Bebryces and *Odyssey* 9, 132–33
battle imagery, 20 n. 75, 83–84; at death, 83–84, 92 n. 44; in meeting of Jason and Medea, 84, 235, 241–42; of Medea; 84, 290 n. 92
Bebryces, 93–99, 132–33, 224
beds: none for Jason in Colchis, 230; on Drepane, 251–52
bees, 97–98, 115–16
birds: from island of Ares, 84; in omens, 179, 280
blood: lack of, at sacrifice, 59; in boxing match, 67; in battle in Book 2, 96; flows in Jason's *aristeia*, 107
boar, 105
Boreas, 74, 276; sons of, 171, 276
Boutes, 203–5, 273
bows, 296
boxing match, 29 n. 106, 62–73
Brimo, 207 n. 264

Cabeiri, 269, 279
Callimachus: and Homer, 4–5, 27; relationship to Apollonius, 7; altar at Pagasae in, 51 n. 8, *Hecale*, 105; Argonauts' visit to Drepane in, 245; gods in, 273, 283; Rhea in, 275 n. 36; Iris in, 298
Calypso, 77, 221–22; and Hypsipyle, 33, 163 n. 106, 221; and beginning of Book 3, 221, 292
Canthus, 131
Carambis, 174
Castor, 93–94
catalogue of Argonauts, 24–25, 29
Cattle of the Sun, 33, 42 n. 137, 158–60, 216–220; sacrificed in *Odyssey* 12, 58, 217; and Phineus' speech, 173 n. 139; *see also* Thrinacia
cave, Calypso's, 221
Chalciope, 233–34
chariot: only used by Aeetes, 102, 124; controlled by Apsyrtus, 116; Medea's cart like one, 235–36
Charybdis, 33, 158–60, 207–10, 212, 284, 298; and Symplegades, 42–43; and Phineus' speech, 174
Cheiron, 65 n. 33
Chryses, 55–56
chthonic elements: at Symplegades, 44; in Book 2, 175; in Colchis, 177; *see also* nekuia
Cicones, 32, 124
Cios, 130–31
Circe, 33, 42, 157–60, 160–200, 221, 223, 281, 283–84, 298; and Medea, 154, 176–77, 181–96; her speeches of direction to Odysseus, 172–75, 177, 182–83, 194–95, 200–2, 207–8, 210–14, 216–17, 302; now lives in Italy, 177, 185–86; own appearance in *Argonautica*, 184–96; and Thetis, 159 n. 98, 194–95, 207, 302; and Phineus, 169–76, 184–85; and Aeetes, 176–80; and Hecate, 275; and Rhea, 275; plain of, 16, 161, 174, 177; *see also* animals, magic, maids, *moly*
Clashing Rocks: *see* Symplegades
Cleite, 85–88, 92–93
cloak, Jason's, 24–25, 29, 88, 108, 116, 165–67, 296
Clytius, 95
Colchians: killed by Argonauts, 114; threaten battle on Scheria, 115–16; at departure of Argonauts, 115, 124; like Phaeacians, 226–27, 231–32
Colchis: vents there and *Odyssey* 9, 133–39; and *Odyssey*'s Circe episode, 176–84; and *Odyssey*'s Phaeacian episode, 224–44

Corcyra, 245
cosmology, 188
Crataeis, 160, 174, 183, 207; *see also* Hecate
Cybele: *see* Rhea
Cyclops, 21, 26, 31, 33; and Symplegades, 43–44; Odysseus describes shipwreck to, 76, 136; recalled in the *Argonautica*, 127–44; allegorical interpretation of his eye, 138
Cypris: *see* Aphrodite
Cyzicus (person), 85–93, 149
Cyzicus (place), 33, 84–93, 224, 291; battle compared to battle against Bebryces, 98–99; and *Odyssey*'s Aeolus episode, 144–45; and *Odyssey*'s Laestrygonian episode, 147–52

daimon, 286
dancing, 253
Demeter, 274
Demodocus, 253; his song, 29, 224–26, 251, 288, 292, 294, 296
Dionysus, 270, 274
Dioscuri, 270, 276–77
Doliones, 84–93
doublets, of events and characters, 25–26, 39
dreams: Circe's, 187; Medea's, 232–33; as omens, 280
Drepane, as name for Scheria, 158, 245–47, 275; *see also* Scheria

Earthborn: generally, 166; of Cyzicus, 84–85, 147–52; of Colchis, 104–7; Circe's animals, 188–90
Elysian fields, 277, 290, 301
embarkation, 24 n. 87
Empedocles, 188 n. 201
enjambement, 65
epanalepsis, 148
Epeius, 63–66
epithets, 102, 106, 200
Erinyes, 271
Eros, 228, 276, 279, 283–84, 286 n. 84, 295–96
Eumaeus, 58
Euphemus, 43–44, 130–31
Euphorbus, 111
Euripides: *Medea*, 8, 15, 27, 250 n. 402, 271 n. 15; *Protesilaus*, 87–88
Europa, 272 n. 22
Euryalus, 63–66
Eurycleia, 299 n. 127
Eurylochus, 167–68, 182–83, 189 n. 203
eyes, 192

feasting: after sacrifice, 53; in Colchis, 228–29; on Drepane, 253–54
Fleece, Golden, 97 n. 68, 109, 124, 136, 209, 252, 284; *see also* sheep
focalisation, 28–29, 194 n. 232, 213, 227, 239 n. 359, 287–88
food, in Phineus episode, 171
foreshadowing, 39, 42–43, 52 n. 12, 69, 123, 131–32, 151, 166, 169, 175, 233 n. 333, 240, 246, 270, 296–97
formularity, rare in *Argonautica*, 235; *see also* repetition
fragmentation, of model, 14–15, 20, 23, 26, 40, 123, 160–61, 222–23, 256–57
furniture, 163–64

Gaia, 275 n. 38
games: material used in other ways, 25; and boxing match, 69; at Cyzicus, 92; in Jason's *aristeia*, 101 nn. 83–84, 109; in Colchis, 242
Ganymede, 272 n. 22, 276, 278, 295
gaze, of Medea, 192, 237; of Colchians, 226–27
Gegenes: *see* Earthborn
geographical closeness, 22, 125–26, 158–59, 244–45
geography, 148–49, 152–60, 177, 185–86, 212
Gephyrus, 89–90
gestures, 192, 194
gifts: to guests, 69, 134, 223, 242–43, 254–55; from gods, 281–82
Glaucus, 275–76, 281–82, 285, 288
gnomai, 290–91
gods, 9, chapter 5, *passim*; lack of opposition, 76, 78, 282–83; remoteness of, 78, 100–101, 247, 249, 254, 282–83; sacrifice, 159, 207, 290; twelve Olympians, 269; less physical than in Homer, 277; modes of action of, 280–84; human awareness of, 284–89; *see also* names of individual gods
grove, sacred, 243

Hades, 222, 290, 301; *see also* chthonic elements, *nekuia*
hair, 187
hapax legomena: 14, 26, 43, 44, 95 n. 55, 128, 129, 163 n. 106, 165, 190 n. 212, 216 n. 290, 218–19, 238, 255 n. 417, 294
Harpies, 204
Hecate, 160, 183, 207, 237, 242, 274, 279, 282, 285; *see also* Crataeis
Hector: and Cyzicus, 88, 91; and Jason, 104; and Medea, 241–42
Helen, and Medea, 26, 255–56
Helios, 225, 274, 282; daughters of, 217; *see also* Cattle of the Sun
Hephaestus, 225, 271, 292, 299–300
Hera, 270–72; sheds mist around Argonauts, 46, 280; dressing like Medea's, 84; concern for Jason, 100, 281, 296; shouts to warn Argonauts, 157, 285; speaks to Thetis, 194–95, 207–8, 211–13, 297–302; in opening of Book 3, 224–26, 272, 280, 291–97; beautifies Jason, 231–39, 280; as wife of Zeus, 237; in *Iliad* 19, 255–56; not worshipped, 269
Heracles: at sacrifice, 52, 55; and Agamemnon, 55; breaks oar, 77–78; missed after battle against Bebryces, 98; loss of Hylas and *Odyssey* 9, 128–31; his behaviour on Lemnos 167–68; birth of in *Iliad*, 255–56; immortality of, 276
Hermes, 164–65, 171, 274; and Aeetes, 232, 281, 298
Herodorus, 200
Hesiod, 46, 105–6; his bronze age and Talos, 140; location of Odysseus' wanderings in, 153; on the Sirens, 201
Hesperides, 277, 285, 286 n. 84; *see also* Aigle
Homer, influence on subsequent literature 2–6: *see also* Iliad, Odyssey, *and individual Homeric characters and locations*
Homonoia, 276, 286 n. 84
Hylas, 92–93, 283; and *Odyssey* 9, 128–31; and *Odyssey*'s Phaeacians, 223; recalled in Book 3, 236
Hyllus, harbour of, 246
Hypsipyle: and Calypso, 33, 163 n. 106, 222; and Circe, 163–65, 168–69; and Medea, 241; prays, 289
ichor, 277
Ida, 85
Idas, 182, 289–90
Idmon, 286; at sacrifice, 50, 53, 290; his death, 83–84, 92 n. 44
Iliad, use of generally in *Argonautica*, 29–30, 86; on Drepane, 255
Ino, 77–78
intertextuality, 8
invulnerability, of Jason, 100
Iphinoe, 165
Iphitus, 95
Iris, 171, 271, 274, 278–79, 281, 297–99
Irus, 66–68
Ithaca, 146, 223–24
Itymoneus, 94
Ixion, 225, 294

Jason: resembles various Homeric characters, 26–27; sacrifices to Apollo, 51–58; does not apparently fight Bebryces, 95–96; his *aristeia* at end of Book 3, 99–113; and Achilles, 26–27, 88, 101, 108–110, 241–42; and Homer's Cyclops, 135–39; and Odysseus with the Cyclops, 134–36; and Odysseus with Circe, 163–65, 167–69, 175, 178–84; and Odysseus in Scheria, 224, 226–32, 232–44; interprets omens, 280; *see also* cloak, prayer
juxtaposition, allusion by, 20, 33–34, 209

knowledge, incomplete, 186, 192 n. 224, 269, 288–89

Laestrygonians, and Cyzicus, 33, 147–52
Lampetie, 216–17
language, Apollonius' and Homer's, 12
languages, other than Greek, 193
Lemnian women, 92, 162–65, 167–69; arm for battle, 85, 115–116, 162–63
Lemnos, 162–69, 224, 254 n. 413; and *Odyssey*'s Phaeacians, 223
Leto, 165–66
Libya, 32, 284; and *Odyssey* 5, 78; and Sirens, 33, 126, 204; and Lotus-Eaters, 125–27; and Menelaus' adventures in *Odyssey* 4, 126; goddesses of, 281, 285
Lotus-Eaters, 32, 125–27

Lycus, 98, 286; and *Odyssey*'s Phaeacians, 223
lyric poetry, 4, 203

Macris, 246
magic: in earlier accounts, 100; Circe's, 176, 179–83, 189; Circe's lack of, 187, 193, 195; at Colchis, 179; Medea's 180, 281; lack of at Wandering Rocks, 212–14; Phaeacians' lack of, 247
maids: Circe's, 191, 195–96, 246; Medea's, 235, 239; Nausicaa's, 235, 239; Arete's, 246
marriage: of Cyzicus and Cleite, 87–88; of Hera and Zeus, 237; of Jason and Medea, 241, 254, 299–300; of Alcinous and Arete, 248; of Peleus and Thetis, 299–300
Medea, 283–84; resembles various Homeric characters, 27; and Nausicaa, 36, 224, 228, 230–31, 232–44, 253–54; and Hera, 84; resembles the Cyclops' ram, 136; and the Cyclops' eye, 138; and Talos, 139; mentioned in Hesiod but not Homer, 140; links to 'Odyssean' dangers not stressed, 160; and Circe, 154, 176–77, 181–96; knows little of world outside Colchis, 177, 186, 247 n. 387, 269 n. 6, 288; and Arete, 226; and Hypsipyle, 241; and Hector, 241–42; and Odysseus, 249–53; and Odysseus' men, 194; destined for Elysian fields, 277, 290, 301; fears Hades, 290; *see also* magic, prayer
Megalossakes, 89–90
Menelaus, recalled in Libyan episode, 126; destined for Elysian fields, 277, 301
metaliterary expressions, 27–29, 92, 146, 156, 169–70, 195–96, 211–12, 251, 284
metonymy, of gods' names, 111, 276, 283, 287
Mimas, 94, 275 n. 38
mist, 226–27
models: several for one character, 26–27, 184; *see also* fragmentation
moly, 113, 180
Mopsus, 238; death of, 83–84, 92 n. 44
mothers, substitute, Chalciope to Medea 234, Hera to Thetis, 299
Muses, 157, 291–92

names: made out of common nouns, 89–90; Argonauts' names duplicated, 131 n. 20; substitute names for gods 273–74; *see also* metonymy
Nausicaa, 230, 251; and Medea, 36, 224, 228, 230–31, 232–44, 253–54
Nausithous, 246
nekuia: absence of, 34–35, 175 n. 147; Odysseus' visit to Hades recalled on cloak, 165–67; in Phineus episode, 175; in Book 3, 177, 182–83; *see also* Teiresias
Nereids, 275, 285, 298, 302
Nestor, 50–55, 172 n. 138
nostos, 30, 123, 157, 194, 272, 290
nudity, 101
nymphs, 275, 280, 283

oaths, 171
Ocean, 157; daughters of, 275 n. 38
Odysseus, 32–35, ch. 4 *passim*; and Jason, 26–27, 55; at Symplegades, 42–48; and Euphemus, 44; boxing match in *Odyssey* 18, 66–68; shipwrecked, 73–81; and Medea, 249–53; his companions and the Argonauts, 167–68, 208; and Medea, 194
Odyssey, use of generally in *Argonautica*, 30–35, 122–24, 152–60
Olympus, 277–79, 298–99
omens, 280–81, 287–88
oppositio in imitando, 13, 55
oral poetry theory, and Homer, 37–38
Oreites, 94–95
Orpheus, 50 n. 6, 57, 202–5, 275, 277
Orphic Argonautica, 147, 277
Ouranos, 275 n. 38, 277–79

Pagasae, departure from: and *Odyssey* 5, 222; and *Odyssey*'s Phaeacians, 223
palace, Aeetes', 10, 178, 226–28, 297; Alcinous', 227–28; Priam's, 227 n. 319; Hephaestus', 297
Pandarus, 296
Paris, 104, 295
parody, 10
Parthenius, 92
Patroclus, 91–92, 116, 294
Peleus, 194–95, 207–8, 299–300, 303

Pelias, hated by Hera, 271, 296
Penelope, 231 n. 329
Phaeacians, 33, 158–60, 221, 223–66, 283; like Colchians, 226–27, 231–32; as transition, 248; *see also* Alcinous, Arete, Drepane, Scheria
Phaethousa, 216–17
Philoxenus, 4
Phineus, 31, 219 n. 300, 286–87, 289 n. 89, 296; advice concerning Symplegades, 42–45; and Circe, 169–76, 184–85
Phlogius, 89–90
Phorcys, 207
Phrixus, 224, 232; sons of, 73–76, 185, 229, 286–87; recall Cyclops, 128; recall Odysseus with the Cyclops, 133–36; and Circe, 185; *see also* Argus
Pindar, 105
plagiarism, 7
Planctae: *see* Wandering Rocks
plants, magical, 180
ploughing, 104–5
Polydeuces, 62–73, 94
Polyphemus (Cyclops); *see* Cyclops
Polyphemus (Argonaut), 129–31
Poseidon, 141, 274, 282; Aeetes likened to, 103, 137; worshipped, 269
position in book, episodes in same, 22, 55, 135, 292
position in poem, episodes in same, 22, 55, 170, 298
prayer: at sacrifice, 56; Jason avoids, 239; Medea's for Arete, 250, 289; 'if the gods will', 289
Priam: and Jason, 26–27; his palace, 227 n. 319
proecdosis of *Argonautica*, and sacrifice, 54
Prometheion, 180, 236, 275 n. 38
Prometheus, 170, 275, 277
Promeus, 89–90
prophecy: to Phineus, 170–71; incomplete, 173, 286; *see also* Idmon
Protesilaus, and Cyzicus, 87–88
puns, 15, 247 n. 386, 302
purification, 190–91, 195

rape, 204
Realien, 10–11
reaping, 104
religion, of Argonauts, 268–70; *see also* gods, sacrifice
repetition, 145, 165, 235, 253
return, unexpected, 144–45
Rhea, 85, 145, 189, 270, 274–75, 278, 279, 282, 286 n. 84
ring-composition, 134, 194
rocks: as weapon, 106, 138; thrown by giants, 139–40; *see also* Symplegades, Wandering Rocks

sacrifice, 30, 49–62, 287
Scamander, 227
Scheria, 223–66; end of *Odyssey* 5 and Hylas episode, 77–78; substitute for eventual return, 26, 158, 248–49; and Hylas episode, 223; and Lemnos episode, 223; *see also* Alcinous, Arete, Drepane, Phaeacians
Scylla, 33, 158–60, 207–10, 212, 298; and Symplegades, 42–43, 209; and Phineus' speech, 174–75
Selene, 274
sexual activity: a theme in Book 1, 92–93; associated with fighting, 115; compared to *Odyssey*, 122; Medea and Circe show sexual feelings, 184; hinted at in episode of Sirens, 203–4; suggested in reference to Ganymede, 295; and power, 300–301
sheep, 97; stolen from the Cyclops and Aeetes, 136–37; sacrificed, 183
shipwreck, 31, 73–81, 136, 222, 230; in *Odyssey* 5 and Symplegades, 77; and embarkation from Pagasae, 222
similes, 9, 17–20, 39–40, 132, 150, 181–82; in boxing match, 64; in battle, 83, 90–91, 96–98, 107–112, 114; hawks and doves, 91, 114, 179 n. 162; used of Achilles, 108–110; to do with sea, 110; in Circe episode, 189–90; Medea and Nausicaa like Artemis, 236–37; battle similes at meeting of Jason and Medea, 241; to do with family relationships, 252–53
simultaneous action, at the sacrifice, 52; in Bithynia, 98; in Jason's *aristeia*, 106; with Phineus, 172; on Colchis, 231
singing, 252
Sinope, 272
Sirens, 33, 158–60, 200–6; and goddesses of Libya, 33, 126, 204;

and Phineus' speech, 173
snake, guards Fleece, 209
Sophocles, depiction of Phineus, 170, 211 n. 278
speeches: parallels between, 22, 172–75, 229–30, 239; none in battles, 88; speeches of direction, 172–75, 302; alternatives to, 192–93; indirect, 192–93, 231
springs: Aeetes', 221–22, 227; Calypso's, 221–22, 227
storm at sea, 73–81; brings Argonauts to Libya, 125, 146
Strabo, 154–55
suitors, of Penelope: and boxing match, 68–69; fight in only extended battle in *Odyssey*, 82; and battle with Doliones, 86
supplication: sons of Phrixus, of Argonauts, 75, 133–35, 240; Phineus, of Argonauts, 171; Circe, of Odysseus, 171, 190; Jason and Medea, of Circe, 190; Odysseus, of Arete, 229, 249–50; Jason, of Medea, 239–40; Odysseus, of Nausicaa, 239–40, 251; Medea, of Arete and Argonauts, 249–51
surprise, 35, 189–90, 219, 220–22; frustrated battles, 114–17; gods do not speak, 282; *see also* unexpected return
swords: Clytius', 95; Jason's, 116, 150 n. 66, 190; Harpies threatened with, 171; Homer's Circe threatened with, 171
Symplegades, 31, 123, 140, 209, 210–12, 285; and various Homeric scenes, 41–48; and *Odyssey* 5, 77; and *Odyssey* 9, 128; in Phineus' speech, 173–74

Talaos, 94–95
Talos, and Cyclops, 139–40
Teiresias: and Aethalides, 164; his speech in Hades, 172–73, 216; *see also* nekuia
Telamon, 289 n. 89
Themis, 276, 302
Theocritus: and Homer, 4; boxing match in *Idyll* 22, 66, 68, 70, 131–33; on Phineus, 170; his treatment of Hylas episode, 280
Thersites, and Heracles, 20 n. 77, 115 n. 149, 168 n. 123
Thetis, 194–95, 207–8, 271–72, 281, 292, 297–303; and Achilles, 277; her sisters, 298
Thrinacia, 174, 216–20; *see also* Cattle of the Sun
Thynias, 219 n. 300
Timaeus of Tauromenium, 153–54, 184, 211, 245, 249 n. 397
time, *Argonautica* set earlier than Homer, 27–28, 156, 166–67
Tiphys, 285
Titans, 275
Tityos, 165–66
tragedy: use of Homer in, 2–4, 14 n. 53; and Cleite's death, 92; Lemnos in, 163; Phineus in, 170; and Circe episode, 191; sisters in, 234; Zeus in, 272; gods and, 288; *see also* Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles
Triton, 275, 277, 281–82, 285
Troy, 85, 295–96
'typical scenes', 9, 21, 23–24, 39–40, 49–62, 229 *see also* arming, assemblies, embarkation, sacrifice, supplication, welcomes

unexpected return, 144–45
unity, of *Argonautica*, 35–39

Valerius Flaccus: his Bebryces and the Cyclopes, 133; events in Colchis in, 228 n. 324, 233 n. 336; Hera and Medea in, 233 n. 336, 294 n. 106
variatio, 13
Virgil, 14 n. 51, 22, 27, 30, 36–37; similes in, 18, 104, 236–37; Circe in, 36 n. 126, 161 n. 101, 189 n. 203
visual detail: at Symplegades, 45; at boxing match, 62; on cloak, 166; description of Sirens, 201; description of Cattle of Sun, 217–18; description of Iris and Thetis, 299
vocabulary, different from Homer's, 12–17, 110–11, 219

Wandering Rocks, 33, 123, 140, 158–60, 207, 210–16, 285; and Symplegades, 42; and shipwreck in *Odyssey* 5, 77; in Phineus' speech, 173–74
weapons, unusual, 95–96

weather, 287
welcomes, 85, 122, 244, 249; in Lemnos, 163–65; in Colchis, 178–79, 228–31; by Circe, 190–92
wolves, 97

Zelys, 89–90
Zethus, 165–66
Zeus: absence of, 12, 101, 134, 272, 275, 280, 293, 298–99; stirs up Boreas, 74, 276; his will, 98, 157, 185, 272, 282, 287; events attributed to, 285, 287; deception of, 292, 297 n. 118; and Ganymede, 295; and Thetis, 300–1

INDEX OF PASSAGES DISCUSSED

N. B. Many short passages discussed as part of a longer treatment of a scene containing them have not been indexed separately.

Alcaeus
fr. 440 L-P: 148 n. 52

Anthologia Palatina
12.44 (Glaucus): 295 n. 111

Apollonius of Rhodes
Argonautica
1.2–3: 41–42
1.18–22: 6
1.82: 290 n. 94
1.101–4: 34 n. 118
1.142–45: 281 n. 63
1.158–60: 281 n. 63
1.269–75: 252
1.286: 26 n. 96, 34 n. 118
1.295–305: 26 n. 96, 290–91
1.402–49: 49–62, 286
1.411–24: 56
1.451: 53
1.466–71: 269
1.476–91: 290
1.496–511: 275
1.508–11: 273
1.516–22: 54
1.547–68: 222, 278 n. 46
1.557–58: 27
1.609–914: 162–69
1.634–38: 115
1.721–68: 25, 34 & n. 118, 165–67
1.730–34: 127
1.752–58: 102 n. 90
1.774–81: 20 n. 75, 108, 226
1.850–52: 273 n. 25, 287
1.865–74: 115 n. 149
1.879–85: 97 n. 72, 115–16
1.888–89: 289
1.898: 289
1.903: 289
1.915–21: 269
1.922–35: 85
1.955–57: 148–49
1.989–1011: 18 n. 69, 84, 147–52
1.1012–77: 84–93, 98–99
1.1013–14: 150
1.1015–18: 144–45
1.1026–28: 86 n. 15, 90–91
1.1035–36: 89, 290–91
1.1049–50: 91, 114, 179 n. 162
1.1054–56: 86 n. 15
1.1088: 287 n. 88
1.1092–149: 274–75, 282–83
1.1099–102: 278
1.1142–49: 189 n. 205, 275 nn. 35–36
1.1153–74: 25, 77
1.1172–272: 128–31, 275, 280
1.1188–90: 77, 128
1.1197: 77 n. 56
1.1198: 128
1.1201: 128
1.1207–9: 129
1.1226–29: 236 n. 349, 280
1.1232–33: 273 n. 25, 283
1.1243–47: 114
1.1251: 77
1.1293: 289
1.1310–28: 275–76, 281, 288
1.1315–17: 272
1.1345–48: 272

2.1–97: 25, 29 n. 106, 62–73, 131–33
2.26–29: 64 n. 31
2.40–44: 64 n. 31
2.59: 132
2.62–66: 64, 288
2.70–76: 18 n. 68, 64 n. 31
2.79–82: 18 n. 69, 132
2.88–90: 64 n. 31
2.91: 114 n. 146
2.98–136: 69–70, 93–99
2.106–7: 69
2.109: 132–33
2.123–29: 97
2.130–36: 18 n. 69, 97–98, 115
2.137: 69, 98
2.142–66: 133
2.145: 69
2.154: 98
2.180–81: 281 n. 63
2.215–16: 190 n. 212

2.236: 169–70
2.273–75: 276
2.286–300: 271 n. 14, 279, 281
2.313–16: 286
2.317–45: 42
2.178–497: 169–76
2.311–425: 172–76, 182 n. 174, 287
2.400: 161, 174, 177
2.446: 289
2.482–83: 283
2.537–606: 41–48
2.537–40: 4–46, 277
2.552–56: 42–43
2.569–70: 43
2.580–82: 77 n. 54
2.599: 46
2.600: 45 n. 143
2.602–3: 46, 279
2.616: 285
2.620–49: 29 n. 106
2.642–43: 34 n. 118
2.674–710: 273, 282
2.717–19: 276
2.731–45: 221
2.755–814: 223
2.797: 286
2.806–10: 276–77
2.818–34: 105
2.824–28: 83–84
2.837: 92 n. 44
2.892–93: 144
2.901–3: 35
2.946–54: 272
2.985–95: 115
2.993–94: 272
2.1083: 287
2.1097–1121: 73–76, 272, 287
2.1098: 276
2.1125–27: 75
2.1128–33: 133–35, 239–40
2.1144–45: 31 n. 25
2.1146–51: 224
2.1166–67: 287
2.1179–84: 287
2.1205–6: 274 n. 31
2.1220–25: 116
2.1233–34: 273
2.1248–59: 275
2.1123–33: 133–34
2.1280: 226 n. 313

3.7–112: 29, 291–92
3.8–9: 272, 280
3.36–112: 293
3.37–41: 224–25
3.52–54: 225, 294
3.61–62: 34 n. 118, 225
3.67–73: 281
3.87–89: 226, 250
3.113–17: 272 n. 22, 278, 295
3.132–34: 273
3.160–61: 278
3.176–93: 135
3.183–84: 116, 178
3.200–3: 177
3.210: 46
3.210–34: 178, 222, 226–27, 280–81
3.230–74: 228, 297
3.233–34: 225
3.243–44: 275 n. 38
3.250: 287
3.289: 255 n. 419
3.291–97: 18 n. 69, 252
3.302–442: 229–30
3.310–14: 177, 185–86
3.315–23: 135–36
3.320–66: 75–76, 297
3.327–28: 272, 287
3.351–53: 116
3.372–81: 194
3.377: 179
3.394–95: 116
3.434: 179
3.443–45: 230–31, 238
3.504–20: 29 n. 106
3.540–54: 43, 179, 287 n. 88
3.576–608: 136, 231–32
3.587–88: 274 n. 31, 281, 298
3.617–32: 232–33
3.656–63: 87 n. 17, 233, 252
3.670–72: 234
3.688–92: 234, 289
3.699: 275 n. 38
3.703–4: 271 n. 15
3.715–16: 275 n. 38
3.719–21: 136
3.774: 274 n. 31
3.788–89: 242
3.806–19: 25, 287, 290
3.828–35: 84, 181
3.835–37: 136, 288
3.838–74: 234–36
3.845–66: 180, 275 n. 38, 277
3.876–87: 20–21, 181–82, 227 n. 318, 236–37, 274 n. 31
3.898–99: 136 n. 35
3.910–11: 182
3.919–26: 231, 237–38, 280

3.941–43: 238–39
3.948–55: 239
3.956–59: 84, 241–42
3.967–71: 242
3.975–1068: 239–40, 250
3.1029–41: 34 n. 118, 183
3.1043–44: 242
3.1057: 242
3.1058: 108
3.1069–130: 240–42
3.1074: 177, 181, 186
3.1092–93: 177, 186, 195
3.1152–54: 234–35
3.1168: 182
3.1172–90: 164–65
3.1194–97: 242
3.1199–202: 137
3.1207–12: 34 n. 118
3.1212–23: 274, 282
3.1225–407: 99–113
3.1225–45: 102–3, 115–16, 274 n. 31, 275 n. 38
3.1256–57: 100
3.1271–74: 109
3.1282–83: 274 n. 31
3.1293: 180
3.1294–95: 20 n. 76
3.1306–13: 52 n. 12
3.1327–29: 18 n. 68, 20 n. 76
3.1340–42: 104
3.1343: 240 n. 360
3.1350–53: 101, 137 n. 38
3.1358: 278
3.1359–62: 18 n. 69
3.1365–70: 106–7
3.1373–76: 107–8
3.1399–404: 18 n. 68, 110–11
3.1407: 242–43

4.20–25: 25
4.54–66: 274
4.120–21: 274 n. 31
4.123: 243
4.125–26: 109
4.127: 209 n. 271
4.139–42: 109
4.154: 209 n. 271
4.167–70: 8 n. 34, 109
4.181–82: 243, 284
4.206–8: 116, 150 n. 66
4.214–25: 115, 124
4.219: 102 n. 87
4.222–25: 116
4.267–81: 6
4.294: 287 n. 88
4.385–86: 271 n. 15
4.468–74: 52 n. 12, 114 n. 146
4.475–76: 271 n. 15
4.482–91: 114, 124, 179 n. 162
4.537–51: 221, 246
4.552–56: 157
4.557–61: 23 n. 45, 272, 282
4.573–75: 33, 77, 221
4.575–80: 122, 282
4.580–91: 157, 185, 282
4.603–26: 217
4.637–44: 157, 270, 285
4.647–48: 280
4.651–53: 276–77
4.659–752: 184–96
4.659–61: 185
4.661: 28, 156 n. 89, 195
4.664–69: 187
4.667: 159, 196, 211
4.672–82: 20 n. 77, 188-90
4.686: 192
4.710–11: 191
4.719–21: 192
4.730: 192
4.731–32: 183
4.753–865: 29 n. 106, 297–305
4.764–79: 145, 271 n. 14
4.770: 278–79
4.772: 77 n. 53
4.778: 156 n. 89
4.783–832: 159 n. 98, 160, 194, 207–16, 298
4.786–88: 77 n. 53, 211
4.793–804: 272, 276
4.811–15: 277, 290, 301
4.819–22: 145–46
4.829: 183
4.831–32: 144
4.833: 15, 302
4.849–56: 185
4.856–64: 194, 207, 281, 303
4.871: 277
4.885–921: 200–6
4.892–94: 160
4.895–99: 158
4.917–19: 273
4.922–29: 160
4.924: 77 n. 53
4.924–64: 210–16
4.930–55: 285
4.945–47: 160
4.948–52: 239 n. 359
4.964–81: 216–20

4.966–67: 77 n. 53
4.969: 42 n. 137
4.970–74: 160
4.979–91: 158, 245–46, 275
4.982–1223: 244–57
4.995–96: 248
4.997–1000: 248–49
4.1000–10: 115–16
4.1009–10: 248
4.1012–13: 160
4.1012–28: 249–51, 255–56, 289
4.1030–52: 255
4.1055–57: 115–16
4.1060–61: 251
4.1061–65: 18 n. 68, 252–53
4.1068: 156 n. 89, 251
4.1068–111: 251, 255–56
4.1075: 249
4.1089: 253
4.1114–27: 116, 253
4.1125: 246
4.1128–69: 116, 251–54
4.1131–40: 158, 246
4.1143: 14, 255 n. 417
4.1151–52: 287
4.1161–64: 249
4.1165–66: 290–91
4.1170–93: 254
4.1180–81: 115–16
4.1184–85: 287
4.1199–200: 287
4.1219–22: 254–55
4.1225–380: 34 n. 118, 125–27
4.1228–36: 122, 125, 146
4.1231–34: 125, 146–47
4.1251–56: 78
4.1300–2: 20 n. 76
4.1308–31: 78, 285
4.1318–21: 204, 281
4.1338–43: 20 n. 75
4.1408–30: 277, 281, 285
4.1452–56: 15, 20 n. 76
4.1504: 290–91
4.1510–12: 284
4.1524–25: 83–84
4.1535–36: 92 n. 44
4.1551–91: 275, 277, 281
4.1591–619: 285
4.1636–88: 139–41
4.1643: 272 n. 22
4.1682–86: 108
4.1694: 245 n. 374
4.1699–701: 34 n. 118, 290
4.1706–17: 273, 282
4.1732–57: 280
4.1765–72: 25

Archimedes
Bov: 217–18

Callimachus
h. 1.28–32: 275 n. 36
h. 2.36–40: 273 n. 28
h. 4.212–39: 298
frs. 12–15 Pf.: 245
fr. 18.12–13 Pf.: 51 n. 8
fr. 109 Pf.: 148 n. 52

Euripides
Medea 688: 250 n. 402
1260, 1389–90: 271 n. 15

Herodotus
4.177–79: 126

Hesiod
fr. 27: 201
Theogony
179: 46
409–11: 274 n. 33
594–99: 98 n. 73, 116 n. 150
958–60: 275 n. 38
988–91: 273 n. 25
Works & Days
143–45: 140
158–60: 140
Shield of Heracles
389–90: 105 n. 112

Homer
Iliad
1.1–2: 164 n. 108
1.234–39: 254 n. 412
1.264: 130
1.447–74: 55–57
1.451–56: 56
1.520–21: 300
2.87–90: 97, 115
2.101–8: 254 n. 412
2.225–42: 115 n. 149
2.322–32: 286
2.394: 110
2.410–29: 57–58
2.700–2: 87
2.831: 85 n. 12
3.362 v.l.: 89 n. 26
3.459: 255 n. 417
4.127–33: 45

4.250–421: 255
4.437: 193
5.122: 101
5.136–42: 97
5.161–62: 114 n. 145
5.736: 102
5.743–44: 102
5.784–92: 270 n. 12
6.358: 255 n. 417
6.487–89: 290–91
6.506–11: 104
8.44: 235 n. 346
8.156: 94
8.247–52: 179
8.306–7: 111
8.354–437: 272, 292–93
9.197–98: 294
11.67–69: 104
11.86–89: 105
11.221–45: 87
11.328–34: 87
12.132–36: 242
12.167–70: 97
12.433–35: 252
12.450: 101
13.25–26: 235 n. 346
13.339–43: 106
13.438: 88–89
13.471–75: 105
13.491–93: 111
13.701–8: 104
14.164–86: 84
14.194–223: 294
14.294: 255 n. 419
14.347–49: 275 n. 36
14.511–22: 89, 94
15.80–82: 46
15.263–68: 104
15.329–42: 89
15.607: 106
15.618–21: 110
15.624–29: 64 n. 31, 110
16.140–44: 103
16.352–55: 97
16.411–13: 93–94
16.577–79: 93–94
16.641–44: 15
16.756–58: 64 n. 31
17.53–58: 111
17.61–67: 97
17.210–11: 100
17.281: 105 n. 110
17.494–542: 64 n. 28
17.520–23: 52 n. 12
18.207–13: 109
18.394–407: 300
18.432–35: 300
18.497–508: 254 n. 412
18.541–60: 104–5
18.547: 104 n. 104
19.14–15: 302–3
19.86–138: 255–56
19.145–237: 92
19.258–63: 255
19.374: 109
19.384–86: 104
20.164–73: 64 n. 31
20.234–35: 295
21.106–10: 291
21.233: 96 n. 59
21.257–62: 109
21.522–24: 109
22.5: 89 n. 28
22.26–32: 108, 241
22.134–35: 109
22.139–42: 91, 179 n. 162
22.147–52: 227
22.162–64: 109
22.317–20: 64 n. 31, 108
22.406: 231
23.13–16: 92
23.198–213: 199
23.257: 92
23.653–99: 63–66
24.23–142: 297–303
24.27–28: 295 n. 111
24.120–42: 303
24.218–27: 26 n. 96
24.518–51: 26 n. 96
24.525–33: 290–91

Odyssey
1.56–57: 163 n. 106
1.334: 231
3.329–34: 54
3.341: 54
3.404–5: 54
3.430–63: 50–54
3.487: 53
3.561–69: 277
4.333–592: 126
4.561–69: 301
5.57–74: 221–22, 227
5.231–32: 181 n. 169
5.234–96: 222
5.243–48: 74
5.262: 243 n. 371
5.283: 77 n. 54

5.291–332: 73–74, 76–79
5.299–312: 78
5.333–53: 78
5.337: 77 n. 53
5.353: 77 n. 53
5.381: 77 n. 53
5.416: 226 n. 313
5.428: 77 n. 56
5.453: 77 n. 55
5.473: 77
5.475: 77
6.2–3: 242
6.15–16: 234
6.18–84: 234–36
6.21–40: 232–33
6.32–33: 238–39
6.41–42: 46
6.57–65: 234
6.99–117: 239
6.102–9: 21, 182
6.130–34: 84, 241–42
6.149–197: 239–40, 250–51
6.207–8: 239–40
6.229–37: 230–31, 237–38, 280
6.238–41: 233
6.313–15: 226
6.316–18: 234–35
6.321–22: 243
7.14–143: 226–28
7.14–17: 243, 280
7.15: 46
7.24: 239
7.42: 46
7.69–74: 248
7.129–31: 227
7.142–54: 229, 249–50, 280
7.164–65: 239
7.201–6: 229
7.236–343: 229–30
7.245–46: 221
7.307: 253
7.311–15: 224
7.344–47: 251
8.1–18: 254–55
8.4–47: 231
8.21–22: 242
8.136–37: 242
8.186–92: 242
8.266–367: 224–26, 251–52
8.270–71: 225
8.281: 226
8.387–448: 254–55
8.417: 242–43
8.461–68: 240–41
8.482–83: 253
8.504–10: 116
8.523–30: 252–53
9.39–61: 124
9.65: 92 n. 44
9.67–78: 73–75
9.79–83: 122, 125
9.94–99: 126
9.106–564: 127–44
9.119–22: 137
9.172–76: 135
9.181: 137
9.233–34: 129
9.248–49: 129
9.266–71: 135, 141–42
9.279–86: 76: 135, 139–40
9.290: 137 n. 38
9.296: 137 n. 38
9.322–24: 128
9.382: 128–29
9.384–89: 132
9.397: 132
9.421–43: 136
9.449: 136 n. 35
9.481–84: 139
9.485–92: 43–44
9.511: 136
10.1–79: 144–47, 194
10.4: 209 n. 273
10.28–55: 122, 125, 145–46
10.48–55: 144, 146
10.81–133: 147–52
10.137–39: 152, 183
10.192–93: 178
10.212–19: 180–82, 188–90, 275 n. 35
10.220: 178
10.289: 182
10.304–5: 180
10.320: 179
10.348–59: 191
10.354: 179
10.504–40: 175–76, 177, 183
10.544–45: 181
11.100–37: 216
11.202: 26 n. 96, 34 n. 118
11.260–65: 165
11.576–81: 165
12.34–35: 192, 302
12.37–141: 172–75
12.39–54: 200–6
12.59–72: 42, 152, 158, 210–12, 213, 270
12.73–126: 207–10

12.107: 284
12.127–36: 216–18
12.142–43: 192
12.158–200: 200–6
12.189–91: 126, 204
12.201–2: 216
12.204–5: 144
12.206: 44
12.228–30: 43
12.235–259: 207–10
12.238–39: 43
12.261–66: 216–19
12.275: 174
12.356–65: 58
12.403–25: 73–75
12.429–46: 43, 210
17.240–41: 58
18.11–110 (boxing): 66–70
18.135: 290–91
19:32: 86 n. 15
19.225–35: 166 n. 117
19.482: 299 n. 127
19.493: 299 n. 127
20.25–27: 252 n. 408
20.242–43: 179
20.287–319: 68–69
22.19–20: 69
22.32–33: 69, 98
22.201: 86
22.298: 273 n. 25
22.383–84: 86 n. 15
22.404: 69
23.32: 299 n. 127
23.140: 69

Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite
2: 273 n. 25
68–72: 181

Orphic Argonautica
516: 147

Pindar
I. 8.29–38: 300
P. 4. 87–92: 284 n. 73
P. 4. 233: 181 n. 168

Sophocles
fr. 425: 54

Strabo
1.2.4: 176 n. 151
1.2.10–19: 154
1.2.38–40: 154

Theocritus
Id. 13.43–54: 280
Id. 22.27–134: 63 n. 26, 66, 68, 70, 131–33

Valerius Flaccus
Argonautica
4.104–9: 133
5.329–617: 228 n. 324
6.455–79: 294 n. 106
6.477–601: 233 n. 336

Virgil
Aeneid
1.498–504: 236–37
7.19–20: 189 n. 203
11.492–97: 104

INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

ἀγοστός: 107
ἀήσυρος: 75 n. 48
Αἰαίη: 181, 187
αἰδέομαι: 134
αἰδώς: 234
αἰθοῦσα: 297
αἷμα: 96 n. 62
αἱμύλιος: 163 n. 106
ἄϊξ: 145 n. 48
ἀκάματος: 240
ἀκουή: 203
ἀκρεμών: 75 n. 48
ἀλιτροσύνη: 191 n. 213
ἀμαιμάκετος: 102
ἄμοτον: 64, 208
ἀμφίγυος: 106
ἀμφιλαφής: 246
ἀναβρόχω: 208
ἀοίδιμος: 14, 255 n. 417
ἀπαναίνομαι: 163
ἀπολυμαίνομαι: 190
ἀπύργωτος: 165
ἀρηΐθοος: 90
ἁρπάγδην: 144
ἀσπάσιος: 248 n. 395
ἄτρεπτος: 191 n. 214
αὐδήεσσα: 78
αὖλαξ: 105 n. 105
αὐτόγυος: 105 n. 105
βαρύς: 65
βληχή: 216
βομβηδόν: 97
γῆρυς: 193
δαίμων: 286
δάφνη: 133
διακρίνω: 167
διαυγής: 75 n. 48
δίς: 44
δολόεσσα: 181
δρίος: 218
δύσζηλος: 253
ἕδος: 278
ἐκδίδωμι: 255 n. 417
ἔμπεδος: 164
ἐμφύλιος: 163
ἐνερείδω: 129
ἐνωπαδίς: 191 n. 221
ἐπιβαίνω: 45 n. 144
ἐπιβρομέω: 203
ἐπιτμήγω: 191 n. 213
εὐμειδής: 191 n. 214
ἐϋμμελίης: 90
ἐυπλόκαμος: 86
ἐΰτρόχαλος: 202
εὔτυκτος: 102 n. 87
ἐχέτλη: 105 n. 105
ζέω: 212
θεάομαι: 108
θέλγω: 196, 203
θεουδής: 247
θοός: 74
θυηπολίη: 191 n. 213
ἰκμάς: 188 n. 201
ἱμάς: 132
ἱμάσθλη: 235
ἱστοβοεύς: 105 n. 105
καλαῦροψ: 218
καταφθίω: 109
κλυτός: 28, 146, 156 n. 89, 195
κορύνη: 95
κρεγμός: 203
κυδιάασκον: 218
κύντερος: 208
κυρέω: 144
λειμώνιος: 218
λείριος: 203
λυτήριος: 191 n. 214
μείλικτρα: 191 n. 213
μοῖρα: 291
μυκηθμός: 216
νήδυια: 95
νηλητής: 191 n. 214
νήπιος: 64 n. 28, 69, 98
νύσσα: 109 n. 127
ξείνιον, ξεινήιον: 69, 133–34
ὀδάξ: 107
Ὄλυμπος: 277–79
ὀμβρέω: 105 n. 105
ὄμπνιος: 218 n. 295
ὀπηδεύω: 218
οὐρανός: 277–79
παλαμναῖος: 191 n. 215
πάρος: 156 n. 89, 196, 211
πάχος: 128, 130 n. 16
πελανός: 191 n. 215
περίτροχος: 102

πηχύνω: 218
πιλέω: 188 n. 201
πλημυρίς: 44
ποίμνη: 130 n. 16, 137
πολύρρινος: 102
πολυφάρμακος: 181
ποτιδόρπιος: 129
πρηνής: 107
προπάροιθεν: 179
προσλέγομαι: 302
προσλέχομαι: 302
προχύτας: 52, 55
πρῴρη: 43
πυγούσιος: 199
σίγυννοι: 95
σκοτόεις: 75 n. 48
σόλος: 303 n. 136
στιβαρός: 264 n. 421
στίξ: 188 n. 201
συγκρίνω: 188 n. 201
συνέριθος: 238
τεθηπότες: 227
τετραφάληρος: 102
τιμή: 12
τοίως: 110–11
τρέφω: 299
ὑπερφίαλος: 68
ὑποσκιάω: 54
φθισίμβροτος: 106
φύξιος: 191 n. 213
χαῖον: 218
χάρις: 238
χύτλον: 191 n. 214
ὠκύπους: 102

SUPPLEMENTS TO MNEMOSYNE

EDITED BY J. M. BREMER, L. F. JANSSEN, H. PINKSTER H. W. PLEKET, C. J. RUIJGH AND P. H. SCHRIJVERS

4. LEEMAN, A.D. *A Systematical Bibliography of Sallust (1879-1964).* Revised and augmented edition. 1965. ISBN 90 04 01467 5
5. LENZ, F.W. (ed.). *The Aristeides 'Prolegomena'.* 1959. ISBN 90 04 01468 3
7. McKAY, K.J. *Erysichthon. A Callimachean Comedy.* 1962. ISBN 90 04 01470 5
11. RUTILIUS LUPUS. *De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis.* Edited with Prolegomena and Commentary by E. Brooks. 1970. ISBN 90 04 01474 8
12. SMYTH, W.R. (ed.). *Thesaurus criticus ad Sexti Propertii textum.* 1970. ISBN 90 04 01475 6
13. LEVIN, D.N. *Apollonius' 'Argonautica' re-examined.* 1. The Neglected First and Second Books. 1971. ISBN 90 04 02575 8
14. REINMUTH, O.W. *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* 1971. ISBN 90 04 01476 4
16. ROSE, K.F.C. *The Date and Author of the 'Satyricon'.* With an Introduction by J.P. Sullivan. 1971. ISBN 90 04 02578 2
18. WILLIS, J. *De Martiano Capella emendando.* 1971. ISBN 90 04 02580 4
19. HERINGTON, C.J. (ed.). *The Older Scholia on the Prometheus Bound.* 1972. ISBN 90 04 03455 2
20. THIEL, H. VAN. *Petron. Überlieferung und Rekonstruktion.* 1971. ISBN 90 04 02581 2
21. LOSADA, L.A. *The Fifth Column in the Peloponnesian War.* 1972. ISBN 90 04 03421 8
23. BROWN, V. *The Textual Transmission of Caesar's 'Civil War'.* 1972. ISBN 90 04 03457 9
24. LOOMIS, J.W. *Studies in Catullan Verse.* An Analysis of Word Types and Patterns in the Polymetra. 1972. ISBN 90 04 03429 3
27. GEORGE, E.V. *Aeneid VIII and the Aitia of Callimachus.* 1974. ISBN 90 04 03859 0
29. BERS, V. *Enallage and Greek Style.* 1974. ISBN 90 04 03786 1
37. SMITH, O.L. *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus. 1. The Recensions of Demetrius Triclinius.* 1975. ISBN 90 04 04220 2
39. SCHMELING, G.L. & J.H. STUCKEY. *A Bibliography of Petronius.* 1977 ISBN 90 04 04753 0
44. THOMPSON, W.E. *De Hagniae Hereditate. An Athenian Inheritance Case.* 1976. ISBN 90 04 04757 3
45. McGUSHIN, P. *Sallustius Crispus, 'Bellum Catilinae'. A Commentary.* 1977. ISBN 90 04 04835 9
46. THORNTON, A. *The Living Universe. Gods and Men in Virgil's Aeneid.* 1976. ISBN 90 04 04579 1
48. BRENK, F.E. *In Mist apparelled. Religious Themes in Plutarch's 'Moralia' and 'Lives'.* 1977. ISBN 90 04 05241 0
51. SUSSMAN, L.A. *The Elder Seneca.* 1978. ISBN 90 04 05759 5
57. BOER, W. DEN. *Private Morality in Greece and Rome.* Some Historical Aspects. 1979. ISBN 90 04 05976 8
61. *Hieronymus' Liber de optimo genere interpretandi (Epistula 57).* Ein Kommentar von G.J.M. Bartelink. 1980. ISBN 90 04 06085 5
63. HOHENDAHL-ZOETELIEF, I.M. *Manners in the Homeric Epic.* 1980. ISBN 90 04 06223 8
64. HARVEY, R.A. *A Commentary on Persius.* 1981. ISBN 90 04 06313 7
65. MAXWELL-STUART, P.G. *Studies in Greek Colour Terminology.* 1. γλαυκός. 1981. ISBN 90 04 06406 0
68. ACHARD, G. *Pratique rhétorique et idéologie politique dans les discours 'Optimates' de Cicéron.* 1981. ISBN 90 04 06374 9
69. MANNING, C.E. *On Seneca's 'Ad Marciam'.* 1981. ISBN 90 04 06430 3

70. BERTHIAUME, G. *Les rôles du Mágeiros.* Etude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne. 1982. ISBN 90 04 06554 7
71. CAMPBELL, M. *A commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus Posthomerica XII.* 1981. ISBN 90 04 06502 4
72. CAMPBELL, M. *Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius.* 1981. ISBN 90 04 06503 2
73. MOSKALEW, W. *Formular Language and Poetic Design in the Aeneid.* 1982. ISBN 90 04 06580 6
74. RACE, W.H. *The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius.* 1982. ISBN 90 04 06515 6
75. MOORHOUSE, A.C. *The Syntax of Sophocles.* 1982. ISBN 90 04 06599 7
77. WITKE, C. *Horace's Roman Odes.* A Critical Examination. 1983. ISBN 90 04 07006 0
78. ORANJE, J. *Euripides' 'Bacchae'.* The Play and its Audience. 1984. ISBN 90 04 07011 7
79. STATIUS. *Thebaidos Libri XII.* Recensuit et cum apparatu critico et exegetico instruxit D.E. Hill. 1983. ISBN 90 04 06917 8
82. DAM, H.-J. VAN. *P. Papinius Statius, Silvae Book II.* A Commentary. 1984. ISBN 90 04 07110 5
84. OBER, J. *Fortress Attica. Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier, 404-322 B.C.* 1985. ISBN 90 04 07243 8
85. HUBBARD, T.K. *The Pindaric Mind.* A Study of Logical Structure in Early Greek Poetry. 1985. ISBN 90 04 07303 5
86. VERDENIUS, W.J. *A Commentary on Hesiod: Works and Days,* vv. 1-382. 1985. ISBN 90 04 07465 1
87. HARDER, A. *Euripides' 'Kresphontes' and 'Archelaos'.* Introduction, Text and Commentary. 1985. ISBN 90 04 07511 9
88. WILLIAMS, H.J. *The 'Eclogues' and 'Cynegetica' of Nemesianus.* Edited with an Introduction and Commentary. 1986. ISBN 90 04 07486 4
89. McGING, B.C. *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus.* 1986. ISBN 90 04 07591 7
91. SIDEBOTHAM, S.E. *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa 30 B.C.-A.D. 217.* 1986. ISBN 90 04 07644 1
92. VOGEL, C.J. DE. *Rethinking Plato and Platonism.* 2nd impr. of the first (1986) ed. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08755 9
93. MILLER, A.M. *From Delos to Delphi.* A Literary Study of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. 1986. ISBN 90 04 07674 3
94. BOYLE, A.J. *The Chaonian Dove.* Studies in the Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid of Virgil. 1986. ISBN 90 04 07672 7
95. KYLE, D.G. *Athletics in Ancient Athens.* 2nd impr. of the first (1987) ed. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09759 7
97. VERDENIUS, W.J. *Commentaries on Pindar. Vol. I. Olympian Odes 3, 7, 12, 14.* 1987. ISBN 90 04 08126 7
98. PROIETTI, G. *Xenophon's Sparta.* An introduction. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08338 3
99. BREMER, J.M., A.M. VAN ERP TAALMAN KIP & S.R. SLINGS. *Some Recently Found Greek Poems.* Text and Commentary. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08319 7
100. OPHUIJSEN, J.M. VAN. *Hephaistion on Metre.* Translation and Commentary. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08452 5
101. VERDENIUS, W.J. *Commentaries on Pindar. Vol. II.* Olympian Odes 1, 10, 11, Nemean 11, Isthmian 2. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08535 1
102. LUSCHNIG, C.A.E. *Time holds the Mirror. A Study of Knowledge in Euripides' 'Hippolytus'.* 1988. ISBN 90 04 08601 3
103. MARCOVICH, M. *Alcestis Barcinonensis.* Text and Commentary. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08600 5
104. HOLT, F.L. *Alexander the Great and Bactria.* The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia. Repr. 1993. ISBN 90 04 08612 9

105. BILLERBECK, M. *Seneca's Tragödien; sprachliche und stilistische Untersuchungen.* Mit Anhängen zur Sprache des Hercules Oetaeus und der Octavia. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08631 5
106. ARENDS, J.F.M. *Die Einheit der Polis. Eine Studie über Platons Staat.* 1988. ISBN 90 04 08785 0
107. BOTER, G.J. *The Textual Tradition of Plato's Republic.* 1988. ISBN 90 04 08787 7
108. WHEELER, E.L. *Stratagem and the Vocabulary of Military Trickery.* 1988. ISBN 90 04 08831 8
109. BUCKLER, J. *Philip II and the Sacred War.* 1989. ISBN 90 04 09095 9
110. FULLERTON, M.D. *The Archaistic Style in Roman Statuary.* 1990. ISBN 90 04 09146 7
111. ROTHWELL, K.S. *Politics and Persuasion in Aristophanes' 'Ecclesiazusae'.* 1990. ISBN 90 04 09185 8
112. CALDER, W.M. & A. DEMANDT. *Eduard Meyer.* Leben und Leistung eines Universalhistorikers. 1990. ISBN 90 04 09131 9
113. CHAMBERS, M.H. *Georg Busolt. His Career in His Letters.* 1990. ISBN 90 04 09225 0
114. CASWELL, C.P. *A Study of 'Thumos' in Early Greek Epic.* 1990. ISBN 90 04 09260 9
115. EINGARTNER, J. *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der Römischen Kaiserzeit.* 1991. ISBN 90 04 09312 5
116. JONG, I. DE. *Narrative in Drama.* The Art of the Euripidean Messenger-Speech. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09406 7
117. BOYCE, B.T. *The Language of the Freedmen in Petronius'* Cena Trimalchionis. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09431 8
118. RÜTTEN, Th. *Demokrit — lachender Philosoph und sanguinischer Melancholiker.* 1992. ISBN 90 04 09523 3
119. KARAVITES, P. (with the collaboration of Th. Wren). *Promise-Giving and Treaty-Making.* Homer and the Near East. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09567 5
120. SANTORO L'HOIR, F. *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms.* 'Man', 'Woman' and the portrayal of character in Latin prose. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09512 8
121. WALLINGA, H.T. *Ships and Sea-Power before the Great Persian War.* The Ancestry of the Ancient Trireme. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09650 7
122. FARRON, S. *Vergil's Æneid: A Poem of Grief and Love.* 1993. ISBN 90 04 09661 2
123. LÉTOUBLON, F. *Les lieux communs du roman.* Stéréotypes grecs d'aventure et d'amour. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09724 4
124. KUNTZ, M. *Narrative Setting and Dramatic Poetry.* 1993. ISBN 90 04 09784 8
125. THEOPHRASTUS. *Metaphysics.* With an Introduction, Translation and Commentary by Marlein van Raalte. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09786 4
126. THIERMANN, P. *Die* Orationes Homeri *des Leonardo Bruni Aretino.* Kritische Edition der lateinischen und kastilianischen Übersetzung mit Prolegomena und Kommentar. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09719 8
127. LEVENE, D.S. *Religion in Livy.* 1993. ISBN 90 04 09617 5
128. PORTER, J.R. *Studies in Euripides'* Orestes. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09662 0
129. SICKING, C.M.J. & J.M. VAN OPHUIJSEN. *Two Studies in Attic Particle Usage.* Lysias and Plato. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09867 4
130. JONG, I.J.F. DE, & J.P. SULLIVAN (eds.). *Modern Critical Theory and Classical Literature.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 09571 3
131. YAMAGATA, N. *Homeric Morality.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 09872 0
132. KOVACS, D. *Euripidea.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 09926 3
133. SUSSMAN, L.A. *The Declamations of Calpurnius Flaccus.* Text, Translation, and Commentary. 1994. ISBN 90 04 09983 2
134. SMOLENAARS, J.J.L. *Statius*: Thebaid VII. A Commentary. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10029 6
135. SMALL, D.B. (ed.). *Methods in the Mediterranean.* Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology. 1995. ISBN 90 04 09581 0
136. DOMINIK, W.J. *The Mythic Voice of Statius.* Power and Politics in the *Thebaid.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 09972 7

137. SLINGS, S.R. *Plato's Apology of Socrates.* A Literary and Philosophical Study with a Running Commentary. Edited and Completed from the Papers of the Late E. De Strycker, s.j. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10103 9
138. FRANK, M. *Seneca's* Phoenissae. Introduction and Commentary. 1995. ISBN 90 04 09776 7
139. MALKIN, I. & Z.W. RUBINSOHN (eds.). *Leaders and Masses in the Roman World.* Studies in Honor of Zvi Yavetz. 1995. ISBN 90 04 09917 4
140. SEGAL, A. *Theatres in Roman Palestine and Provincia Arabia.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 10145 4
141. CAMPBELL, M. *A Commentary on Apollonius Rhodius* Argonautica III 1-471. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10158 6
142. DeFOREST, M.M. *Apollonius'* Argonautica: *A Callimachean Epic.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 10017 2
143. WATSON, P.A. *Ancient Stepmothers.* Myth, Misogyny and Reality. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10176 4
144. SULLIVAN, S.D. *Psychological and Ethical Ideas.* What Early Greeks Say. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10185 3
145. CARGILL, J. *Athenian Settlements of the Fourth Century B.C.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 09991 3
146. PANAYOTAKIS, C. *Theatrum Arbitri.* Theatrical Elements in the *Satyrica* of Petronius. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10229 9
147. GARRISON, E.P. *Groaning Tears.* Ethical and Dramatic Aspects of Suicide in Greek Tragedy. 1995. 90 04 10241 8
148. OLSON, S.D. *Blood and Iron.* Stories and Storytelling in Homer's *Odyssey.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 10251 5
149. VINOGRADOV, J.G.& S.D. KRYŽICKIJ (eds.). *Olbia.* Eine altgriechische Stadt im Nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraum. 1995. ISBN 90 04 09677 9
150. MAURER, K. *Interpolation in Thucydides.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 10300 7
151. HORSFALL, N. (ed.) *A Companion to the Study of Virgil.* 1995 ISBN 90 04 09559 4
152. KNIGHT, V.H. *The Renewal of Epic.* Responses to Homer in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10386 4
153. LUSCHNIG, C.A.E. *The Gorgon's Severed Head.* Studies of *Alcestis*, *Electra*, and *Phoenissae.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 10382 1